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EDITORIAL

In his penetrating study of the significance of delinquent 'traits' observed in 'normal' persons, Dr. Miller courageously attacks problems of definition and classification neglect of which has for too long retarded our understanding not only of the relations between individual and social factors in crime, but of the part played by larval or undetected delinquency in the fabric of society itself.

Not the least of the services Dr. Miller renders the reader is a thoughtful discussion of the concepts of 'normality', 'health', 'adaptation' and the like, by means of which he brings out the difference between, on the one hand, accepted dictionary definitions which are essentially social and moral judgments based on conscious standards, whether natural or supernatural, together with a rough statistical valuation, and on the other a scientific approach which is essentially an act of diagnosis. But as in the examination of any form of vital behaviour from the amoeba to man, the attempt at diagnosis uncovers an ever-increasing number of variables, innate, constitutional, developmental, environmental and, in the case of man, social and moral, a fact which seems to threaten the success of any effort to produce standard etiological factors. It was for this very reason indeed that Nietzsche balked at the attempt to standardize, for example, the concept of 'health'.

Faced by this difficulty the scientist has no alternative to abandoning his ambitions towards simplification, which is inevitably over-simple, and working out a series of diagnostic formulae which take cognisance of and assess the most important variables. Should he accept, as Dr. Miller does, the existence of unconscious dynamic and economic factors, the working formulae he arrives at are bound to be even more complicated. But this is no objection so long as the observer correlates his conclusions with reliable clinical observations. In this respect Dr. Miller adds greatly to the weight

of his article by describing a number of types in which delinquent phantasies or undetected delinquencies played a part in the total function of apparently 'normal' persons. Work along those lines is very much in arrears. The concept of pre-delinquency, latent or larval, has it is true broken ground in this direction and the development of prediction tests based on dynamic criteria will no doubt add to our information. In the meantime, however, it is incumbent on psychoanalysts to collect and pool the information they have acquired on the subject of latent or undetected delinquency. For in the course of their work on non-delinquent disorders and occasionally on 'normal' persons they enjoy unique opportunities of observing the prevalence and function of delinquent phantasy. As Dr. Miller pertinently remarks, what we must know about latent delinquency or predelinquency is: under what dynamic conditions, individual and social, does predelinquency either become undetected delinquency or lead to conviction in a criminal court? In other words how can we diagnose 'transitional' states?

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Dr. Grünhut's follow-up study of punitive detention is his criticism of certain proposals made in the White Paper on 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' and now in the Report of the Home Office Advisory Council on the treatment of young offenders discussed in the section 'Notes and Criticisms' of the present issue. Grünhut objects to the proposed extension of the scope of punitive detention on the ground that the trend of official policy has so far, in his view rightly, been in favour of restricting the use of Detention Centres to a comparatively small number of offenders and also of limiting it to a period of three months. If the numbers of offenders and the length of detention are greatly increased he fears that these Centres may lose their present character and degenerate into short-term prisons for young people. We are not at present concerned with the merits of his argument. What seems to be in need of comment is the fact that, although he undertook with the support of the Home Office to make a special study of the working of these Centres and although his report was already completed before the Advisory Council's Sub-Committee began its task (Report of Prison Commissioners for 1957, p. 2), his views are not even mentioned in the Report of the Advisory Council. No official body is of course under any obligation to accept the findings of a research worker even if he had been invited to undertake the project in question, but in the interest of both penological research and penal reform some closer co-ordination and integration would seem to be desirable.

Dr. Stott's contribution does not represent solely the use of statistical methods in meeting the problems of types of behaviour and the prediction

of conduct in persons of definable structure and disposition. It also opens up the urgent problem of the relationship of on the one hand those various types of deviation called delinquencies and on the other those forms of behaviour which have no fateful social and legal repercussions.

Dr. Stott makes it clear in his comparisons of other workers' investigations as well as his own that the preparatory work for detecting delinquent potential should be sought for in the group of behaviour disorders and neurotic disorders seen in the first detection levels—the home, the school, the club and the clinic. For in these centres of child life certain aspects of personality have their origin and their periods of incubation. It will be obvious from these localities that behaviour is the result of such basic stimuli or provokers of reaction formation such as love, hate, resistance and acquiescence to authority and the capacity for social feeling or the reverse. In fact, to view delinquent conduct in its causal relationships, all behaviour must be spread out like a spectrum band from the ultra socially conforming to the infra-social or non-conforming. Any form of conduct whether viewed purely psychopathologically or sociologically has its natural history. This history arises in the family which already has both individual and social inclusions. Psychopathology and sociopathology are as the inner is to the outer aspects of one system. Can we rightly predict conduct in terms of traits which are at best abstractions from concrete behaviour, and not infrequently abstractions defined differently by observers with differing approaches? The babe is paradoxically a polymorphous pervert and therefore potentially a sexual offender; he is socially too without restraint of impulse or cognisance of differences of mine and thine. With character development these go into abeyance or escape via neurosis. If we are to fulfil the efforts of investigators such as Stott the clinician must feed them with the provisional indications of larval delinquency. Some neurotic traits foreshadow asocial potential; rigid character reactions do so too. There are critical moments when neurosis and character show signs of disintegration. What are the vectors where neurosis, character and social pressures meet is the problem for future workers to attack with their statistical apparatus.

DELINQUENT TRAITS IN NORMAL PERSONS¹

By EMANUEL MILLER (LONDON)

In any structured society, particularly our own in which laws and regulations which touch on the individual's moral and economic life, and even his physical behaviour, are for ever running alongside with an equally undiminished need or zest for individual expression (perhaps in part a consequence of these controls), the concept of normality calls for inspection if not for precise definition. Indeed, the very subject of this paper demands it before the problem of delinquency can be seen in perspective of individual needs and social obligation. As social medicine and social psychiatry have emerged as necessary consequences of the group life we enjoy or tolerate, it is desirable to look for norms largely to guide legislators and administrators in an understanding of man's place in society, as a group organism and as a personality. How difficult it is even to establish norms of bodily harmonious functioning has been the experience of anyone in general medicine who is confronted by problems of the organism as a whole. Standards change with each advance in research—which discloses the thresholds of average functioning varying with milieu as well as with age, with occupation; e.g. of Army demands and athletic requirements. Different social and economic needs call for different levels of functioning which challenge because of the variables in the body-mind relationship. Psychologically these functional balances are subject to changing demands or stresses which the social order imposes from time to time. If adjustment were ever to approximate to perfection the equilibrium achieved might well result in stagnation and even death. For example, we say that we seek happiness, a concept of the vaguest connotation, eminently personal, at the best a fleeting state between phases of discontent or unrewarded striving. The self-estimate of health or well-being might be the criterion for normality, but the judge may think otherwise; the psychoanalyst may infer subliminal disharmony, and the physical pathologist may well discover potentialities of disease. For example, the poet Walt Whitman appears to have enjoyed robust health reflected in his writings, but after death the pathologist disclosed a variety of diseases in the organs, presumably of long standing. At what level of analysis do we diagnose ill-health? It concerns psychiatry as well as general medicine. Are the discovered pathologies indication of disease in the experiential sense, that is as sensed by the subject or by the observer, or further by those who make statements

¹ Based on a paper read before the Scientific Group for the Discussion of Delinquency Problems, October 1958.

regarding health from the viewpoint of social efficiency? Here lies the dilemma of the verbal currencies, *health* and *normality*. The law has a social-historical spectrum within which responsible conduct lies. Overt behaviour is the criterion of judgment. The psychiatrist infers the degrees of normality partly from the signals of mental traits arising from subliminal sources disclosed through a technique. His spectrum has a wider range which anticipates the possibilities of behaviour.

Before discussing the recognition of delinquent traits in normal persons it is necessary on grounds of method to consider what has been said about normality by leading authorities.

The moralists of antiquity by their insight and wit have anticipated the scientists of our day who have reached analogous conclusions in the fields of ethics, sociology and mental analysis. Juvenal in the famous passage—‘pray for mens sana in corpore sano’—adds, ‘pray for boldness of spirit, free from dread of death.’ This implies in modern terminology capacity for creative activity unimpeded by, and perhaps freedom from the load of guilt which shadows death.

Even in the age of rationalism Benjamin Franklin stated, perhaps cynically: ‘So convenient a thing it is to be a reasonable man since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to think or do’—a foreshadowing of the psycho-analytic insight into the function of rationalizing to obtain at least conscious recompense and justification for contrary impulses. Reasonableness is so often a synonym for the normal. Henry James, a master of insight into the fine shades of thought and feeling, says: ‘The note I wanted: that of the strange and sinister embroidered on the very type of the normal and easy!’ To all literary artists the unique was usually an escape from the normal. And lastly from Friedrich Nietzsche, in the ‘Joyful Wisdom’: ‘There is no such thing as health in itself, and all attempts to define a thing in that way have lamentably failed. It is necessary to know thy aim, thy horizon, thy powers, thy impulses, thy errors and especially the ideals and phantasies of thy soul, in order to determine what health even implies for thy body. . . . What appeared as health in one person might appear as contrary of health in another. In the end the great question might still be left open: whether we could do *without* sickness for the development of our virtue, and whether our thirst for knowledge and self-knowledge would not especially need the sick soul as well as the sound one.’

This quotation from one who was far from average takes us into the very heart of modern psychosomatics and its psycho-analytic undertones and actually renders personality idiosyncratic and incompatible with the ideal of normality.

The moderns have tackled this problem in a more scientific manner, with the techniques of analysis: social analysis and moral analysis as in Professor Ginsberg; medical analysis by Professor Aubrey Lewis, and by psycho-analysis mainly by Jones, Glover, Lewin and others. Lewis, from the inspection of the concept of health, points to the negative character of the concept, in terms of diagnosis, and asserts that what we know of ill health too is derived from the preselected samples of in-patients and out-patients and insurance company records. These latter in themselves are mathematically qualified—they are actuarial. I should add that they really create a species of premium-defined diseases. Similarly, crimososis can only be measured against a particular population at risk—mainly prisons, courts, the rare treatment centres; and clubs whose managers refer those who sometimes merely offend the mores (from my point of view a very revealing group).

Lewis is extremely sceptical of any standards other than the clinical which will cover both subjective complaints and attitudes and objective findings which will predict the likelihood of a disturbance of external relations of the organisms or the development of possible subjective symptoms of disorder. He finds psycho-analysis in some measure disappointing as an indicator of normality because it spreads its net too wide and historically started out with psychopathological criteria. This is an undeserved criticism of psycho-analysis, seeing that the latter does not claim to restore to a hypothetical normality.

Ginsberg's critique of normality bears some resemblance to Lewis's, but he attacks the problem methodologically and from the standpoint of the analysis of moral conduct. He holds, as most people do, that the correspondence between normality and adaptation is a weak one. He cites, for example, those who adjust to a criminal environment, and argues that the best adapted are not necessarily the healthiest. Quoting Jones, who suggests concepts of mental health, e.g. efficiency, capacity for friendliness, etc., and who regards normality as attained through the free flow from unconscious and to conscious levels of the mind, Ginsberg criticizes the psycho-analytic concept of the superego in so far as the child derives this from the father and so on backwards through the antecedent families—it is in this measure socially determined. 'As regards these social norms,' he states, 'these regulating life in the family are only a part (of the social mores).'

Ginsberg further asks what are the roots of the idealization of the father which does so much to regulate conduct. 'Is there not here,' he argues, 'a value judgment of which no account is taken in psycho-analysis?' Ginsberg in other words will concede the repressive versus authoritarian elements in morals which psycho-analysis notes in both conscious and unconscious problems of conduct, but he still asks for the sources of primary approvals

and disapprovals. This ethical discussion of the analysis of normality cannot occupy us here any further, but its recognition may help us to explain the original destiny of delinquent traits in otherwise socially normal persons.

For example we might for the moment enquire how the other-regarding sentiments having their main roots in parental care extended to other than familial persons, not by contagion but in the first instance because of its pragmatic advantages. Pragmatic advantages usually have more than a self-flavour, they can be pursued for quasi-moral ends—that is for reinstatement in a social or family group.

Murphy, in his 'Examining of Offenders', states that criminals under examination frequently put up a virtuous picture of themselves; he supplies striking examples of almost saintliness claimed by hardened offenders. It is the perfectionist trend standing on its head. It implies man's striving for normality as an ideal, i.e. being like others. The psycho-analytic critique of normality is perhaps the most vital source of insight into conduct, not only in its pathological forms viewed in the light of social requirements, but in its extension to character structure, the economic and topological aspects of which illuminate the frontier problems which are the issue in this paper. Both Jones and Glover have devoted important articles to this issue. Jones's treatment is in a sense an apologia for the psycho-analytic approach as well as an exposition. Reference has been made to Jones's main conception, e.g. fearlessness yields the freedom to exercise self-control (this is similar to Juvenal); unconscious apprehension of the resurgence of primary impulses incompatible with the regulative principle of conduct vested in superego, as a constant source of three quasi-allied processes—neurosis, neurotic character or acting out, and delinquency and, finally, criminality in a legal or clear-cut judicial sense. Definitely delinquent trends or traits are not 'preservations in amber' of the unsolved conflicts craving for unacceptable expression; they still possess a dynamism which because of their disguises permit of the label of normality being applied to the subject who does not repeatedly succumb to them or may convey them and indeed disguise them in character and in attitudes.

Anna Freud speaks of the coincidence of ego and superego being so asymptotic that the line of demarcation between may be imperceptible to both self and observer. Their outlines become clearer and the surface tension, as it were, becomes greater and attracts to itself more and more methods of defence, neurotic and delinquent (i.e. surface phenomena), which guilt fails to solve by adsorption² in a variety of ways—character anomalies socially acceptable as mere eccentricity, or actions such as mobility, i.e.

² A physico-chemical term meaning condensation on a surface which can hold, e.g., hydrogen, and then give up. Used by Nietzsche in social context.

changing of occupation, of locality or adsorption on a group of congenial persons. The 'clochard' or vagabond described by Vexliard illustrates some of such 'in and out' characters in his book bearing that title. If the thesis conveyed in the title of this paper is worthy of attention there must be evidence as well as mere suggestions in its favour. Much has come to us, as already stated, from the wisdom and insight of those who have pondered on human nature in the past with intuition and experience, but no scientific method to check them. Perhaps the concept of *l'homme moyen sensuel*, untranslatable though it is, comes nearer the shifting quality of normality than any other. At most we can set up an operational standard of the normal person as one who is able to meet the requirements of social life without anxiety or a tendency to withdraw; one who can maintain his internal mental economy with the minimum of splitting; one who ultimately finds a love object outside the family, and who can maintain friendships and find contentment in a calling and meet fearlessly the inevitable obstacles of life. This is sufficiently elastic to meet the variable character of personality.

Such a definition spreads a wide net but not too wide; it excludes the frontier dwellers who may periodically make sorties into the no-man's-land where neither lawyer nor doctor has laws or diagnoses to define them. The one will apply legal formulae which the community has precipitated or secreted out of its own body for survival, the other will use his experience of the disclosed dynamics of the mind to explain, but not necessarily to excuse the wandering into the no-man's-land.

There are in the experience of psychiatrists and their co-workers persons who, while conforming to the criteria of normality, put forward operationally, do betray in character, in fleeting conduct, in confession, and in analysis intimations of delinquent undertones. Not merely in overt behaviour in sudden rages, periods of unreliability, the sailing-near-the-wind type in economic relations and in sexual expression, but in character nuances and conduct suggesting rigidities, and (may one style them) hypocrisies which arouse suspicion. In addition to these are the occasional social manifestations of our times expressed in the Arts: music and literature, entertainment and sport which might call for special attention in the light of this paper's intention.

Examples will be confined to those persons seen by the writer in testing, interviewing and analysing. These will disclose the presence of delinquencies which have either not been active at all or have emerged only after stress, physical or mental; to subside again with, and even without, analytic attention.

Classification, in the present state of our knowledge, is extremely difficult and perhaps dangerous. The first problem arises from terminology, i.e.

what name to give to many of these larval phenomena mainly masked by character reactions or dynamically caught up, or encapsuled in character reactions; and further, where do we place the 'delinquent like' acts of children³ in group and in sibling play?

Firstly, as to the source of classification of material. From the notes of case studies over many years, a number of referrals were selected who were presenting problems which *prima facie* disclosed no peculiarities greater than would have been found in a random sample. It might be asked, if they were sent to a psychiatric clinic they were by that token a selected group. But from the following examples I have chosen only those which as near as possible conform to definition. Very few, it must be admitted, did fit closely; it is not likely that many persons on a random sample would. I would venture further to say, following Ernest Jones, that not all those following a successful therapeutic analysis would show that degree of concordance with definitions. The definition, for what it is worth, is an ideal, and the curve of all lives is at most only asymptotic to it.

The method of scrutiny for delinquent traits was: Interviewing at length, with open admission of psychopathic delinquent character traits with, however, no overt conduct disorders. Such traits were expressed or revealed in some such terms:—

- (1) 'If circumstances permitted I might kill someone.'
- (2) 'I have felt or even thought up a wish to trip people up in the street.'
- (3) 'I have wanted to whip my boy at times and not for punishment—it's mixed up with my liking him.'
- (4) 'Riding in my car, particularly in secluded places, I've felt I might wait for a girl and rape her.'
- (5) 'I once felt when the family are away that it would be fun to burgle my own house.'
- (6) An undergraduate remembered when he and others climbed the college chapel that he was *really* breaking in and felt he might discover something forbidden. This was not a mere 'alpine' adventure as it was with the others.
- (7) A man while on an alpine holiday felt that it would be funny as well as horrible to push his companion over a precipice. I discovered subsequently that his wife unearthed from his desk a quantity of flagellation literature.

³ In the play of children, seen under normal nursery conditions as well as in the therapeutic play room, the following larval forms of delinquent conduct are frequently observed:—mutilation of toys having human and animal form; dramatization of death in battle scenes and funeral rituals, even executions, followed at times by expiatory acts; hiding objects or purloining them; exhibitionism and peeping; violent handling of material and the therapist; cheating at a game improvised in normal play and therapeutic.

These are a few selected examples from persons not sent for treatment or advice of any kind, but who in privacy of conversation admitted to these phantasies, interests or impulses. Circumstances forbade any further enquiries in these instances, but I knew them all to be reasonably satisfactory persons, successful, married in all cases at the time of questioning, and who had no neurotic symptoms, at least calling for attention. Others had character traits which might on analysis have fallen into a pattern of delinquency or its potential.

Another group considered were the parents of children summoned to a child guidance unit. I chose twenty parents who themselves had received no treatment for neurosis. I questioned them about their health and dispositions and carried out T.A.T. tests on all of them. Three out of the twenty had neurotic characters in Alexander's sense of acting out. One of the mothers now had her third husband and disclosed in T.A.T. and Rorschach pronounced homosexual undertones. She was unreliable and not very scrupulous in her shopping expeditions. Two others had neurotic characters: histrionic, always taking offence, full of charm, however, making friends and losing them with equal ease. One father admitted to a variety of military offences during service, e.g. absconding and scrounging equipment and officers' mess material. He was a good father, and an entertaining if not a faithful spouse. Seven others of the twenty shewed no overt character anomalies except great rigidity of character. The T.A.T. revealed an interest in theft, in sexual violence and even in death elaborated, contrived, or accidental.

I feel that many T.A.T. products should be viewed in the light of our contemporary literary culture with the accent on thrill and crime. But this surely must act selectively as I concluded from the remaining ten who revealed nothing of any moment of a psychopathic character. In a series of twenty fathers and mothers who were not clinic-selected, eight fathers and seven mothers revealed no traits by tests. Fetishism, which is much more widespread than is realized, cannot in my view be regarded as delinquent if it does not reach public or psychiatric notice, but we know in some persons the pressure of the interest may eventually lead to kleptomania. One man admitted to mutilating library books to filch advertisements of women's clothing. A recent enquiry as to the popularity of 'serve-yourself' shops disclosed that many people disliked them because they felt uneasy. Such remarks as 'things look too attractive', 'you're always being watched', were made in ordinary conversation. When enquiring into attitudes it is not stretching the psychopathic concept of abnormality to conclude that such persons have delinquent potentials only partially controlled by superego, but wholly controlled by social moral convention. The dynamic partition

between internal superego and social conscience calls for further research. One can recount briefly a number of cases which again have been chosen because up to the time of inspection the person concerned betrayed no delinquent traits overtly or even by implication in his character structure. I shall divide them into those who became delinquent only after traumatic experiences, (a) physical and (b) mental.

(a) *Physical Trauma*

(1) A boy of 9 was sent to the clinic because he had developed delinquent behaviour six weeks after recovering from a head injury of no great severity and with no anomalous features of E.E.G. He smashed things if he was crossed, he spat at those who frustrated him, he started pilfering from his parents' room. At school, however, no complaints were made regarding his conduct although his mental output was reduced. The I.Q. was average. There was a history of difficulty in development—disturbed breast feeding, maternal anxiety during father's absence on Service—but no disorder was noticeable in the boy's conduct until the accident. I submit that delinquent trends were incubated as a result of the trauma. In my records are five child and two adult examples of this type of disorder (from a random selection from 200 child and 150 adult records).

(2) A man of 30 was sent to me in order to regulate his morphine dosage as he was already an addict of three years' standing. It was in 1924 when I first saw him. He was an attractive, educated man, an ex-naval officer very severely wounded in action. He had an abdomino-thoracic hernia, extreme pain from which occasioned the heavy and continued use of morphia. He was of a good naval family, educated at a naval school and college, and acquitted himself well both in action and in special intelligence because of outstanding linguistic gifts. He told me during many interviews which proved necessary in order to modify the addiction (they were only analytically oriented) that the morphia became necessary because while wounded, and at first sedated, he had both attractive and alarming phantasies. He had, it is true, been in secret service, but he dramatically related with mock secrecy that he was spying simultaneously for two countries, in addition to Britain. Because of security aspects, further details of his past and later activities cannot be disclosed, but seeing he had no overt behaviour disorders before his trauma, the therapeutic sessions disclosed delinquent substrates were already in being in the form of character potentials.

(b) *Psychic Trauma*

(1) A man of 38 in 1949 came for treatment because of sudden impotence on return from service in occupied Germany. He had been happily married and was faithful through four years of service. He was a good officer, formerly a school-master with a good knowledge of German and French which led to special duties while abroad. He was associated with the detection and control of doubtful civilians, and in addition he had to round up Germans associated with the concentration camps. The latter distressed him, but not to a degree to produce immediate neurotic reactions. What upset him was the behaviour of allied soldiers towards German women. He had witnessed violent rape several times. In a pentothal anamnesis he disclosed his own strong sexual sadism and feared he would behave so with his wife—as did the soldiers he saw in occupied Germany in their behaviour towards women.

(2) *A Case of Slight Psychic Trauma.* A schoolmaster was referred to me because he had been falling off in his work and had become lackadaisical in discipline. He was very loath to talk, but eventually his history disclosed the following significant features. He was brought up in a poor family, but because of his intellectual ability he reached a secondary school and took an Honours University degree in languages. He had a dominating father and a doting mother. His junior brother was successful in industry and was able to help him financially. He accepted this help reluctantly. He was a successful language master at a secondary school and took a boys' class with ease. To augment his income he gave evening classes to a mixed class. At this point he found himself embarrassed and unable to fulfil his duties. His work fell off. He was a bachelor of 38 and found the young girls attractive. He dated one of them and from this he discovered he could not take his class any longer. As far as he could accept analysis he soon disclosed a compulsion to rape the pupils he taught. He admitted to tendencies to voyeurism and a variety of sex abnormalities which might be regarded as delinquent in ordinary society, but normal practice in brothels. The battle with fetishism and sado-masochistic fancies had been submerged before adolescence, after which they existed in phantasies only fitfully, and overtly and repeatedly only in the analytical situation.

(3) A. V. is a skilled engineer foreman of 28, married happily but with some sexual reserve. His father was an educated man whom he respected and overtly loved. He had very ambivalent feelings towards his mother. He did not mind when she went abroad for a long holiday. On her return he was due to attend a family reunion. The night before this reunion he woke horrified with the feeling that he could kill her. The obsession remained unchanged till treatment. Penthotal-methedrine induction revealed with vivid abreaction adolescent gang rambles with the implicit desire to get at some girl and rape her. He had watched others in their sexual play but never indulged himself. He disclosed wishes, on returning home from work, to stay out in his car in quiet roads and look for a victim—not to rape but to kill. In all other respects he was an excellent workman devoted to home and child. He had no hostile feelings towards his wife who, however, never gave him what he called vaguely 'what I really needed'. He had under pentothal sadistic swearing phantasies. He found learning languages quite impossible, and his spelling of English was infantile.

(4) P. S. came for didactic analysis because of work difficulties, but it became clear that marital stress was an equal reason for seeking treatment. He was a university research worker who was one of three successful sons in the academic field. He had academic parents who created an atmosphere of fear in a rigid moral home atmosphere. On marriage he found he had to beat his wife after intercourse. The only other anomaly revealed in anamnesis was fetishism in boyhood and collecting of fetishistic pictures and books. He was most untrustworthy in financial matters.

(5) R. B., a boy of 14, was the winner of a scholarship to a good public school. He was an only son, and overtly there were no neurotic symptoms: but he was described as very reserved, meticulous and self-opinionated. The parents were strict Methodists. The night after his first day at school, while his parents were out, he was seen by neighbours who alleged he was dancing wildly in the garden entirely naked making masturbation movements. The following day he was quite

composed and again went to school, and later admitted to his father that what neighbours complained of was true. Subsequent anamnesis disclosed strong exhibitionist phantasies.

These examples illustrate the emergence in crisis of the polymorphous perverse survivals having delinquent potential with limited expression. The forces limiting such expression are not in my view entirely clear to us. In these examples, the armour plating of character had broken down. It is costly to erect defences against delinquent trends. For other disorders the symptomatic investment is costly enough in pain and inefficiency, but to master delinquent trends in the unconscious system means, either, entirely to encapsulate the most dynamic and primitive forces of the mind leaving the rest unfruitful if not entirely barren; or it takes the shape of character investment or reaction formation usually, in my submission, a harsh, rigid, cynical and hypercritical façade. Love can find little place in such a character structure. In the apparently free regions of the mind there may be successful intellectual and work adaptation, but the personality is dominating, but neither creative in work nor warm in personal relations.

If these character patterns have the undertones suggested, what are the wider limitations of undertones of delinquency, or, more accurately, of the *delinquencies*, in social life? It is clear to any observer of the social scene that the variety of delinquencies find their oblique and even direct expression in the arts and pleasures. Society provokes them and even finds expression for them on the hoardings and in the playhouse. It is idle to suggest that only this period in social history needs these sadistic and sexually aberrant and aggressive outlets which these arts and entertainments suggest. From Greek times we have been enriched with the tragic acting out of the primal dramas of family life, and we still do not know what is wrong with us—perhaps; and it has analytic support that we do not want to know these causes. Aristotle, who was responsible for the aphorism that all great tragedy was a catharsis, also added (for those who refer to his ‘Poetics’), that the real tragedy is in the family relations—it must proclaim pity and terror, but never portray the monstrous; and it must assume *ignorance* on the part of the perpetrator of the crime. This factor of ignorance, as Aristotle explains it, is to us repression or denial. It is the mechanism of the encapsulation of the delinquent trait. The undetected one, perhaps, is he who has the mark of Cain.⁴

It would be distorting psycho-analysis and stultifying human nature to suggest that the sthenic emotions should be curbed since they are *fons et origo* of socially undesirable conduct. But sex and aggression as such are

⁴ It might be useful to ask what characters prefer Dracula and the like enormities of drama; such an enquiry might help us to an understanding of the distribution of delinquent traits in an overtly law abiding community.

beyond good and evil. The traits which rest upon them have a psychopathology which society both creates and seeks to undo. Psycho-analysis has shown that the freezing of affects or the detachment from their legitimate objects is destructive of personality, or ultimately distorting, but it is the nature of the distortion which decides the destiny; neurosis or delinquency.

Of anger, Alexander Shand wrote: 'We are compelled to accept it, and if we are wise to acknowledge its values for men as well as for animals, so long as it is balanced by the other instincts and afterwards comes under the control of the right sentiments. For even man the highest love has its anger: and it can impart a nobleness to the most brutal emotions.' *But* we must not equate primary affects and desires with delinquency. Some theoretical conceptions might be put forward particularly in relation to Dr. Edward Glover's interesting speculations on a 'functional group of delinquent disorders' to which some of my examples might be regarded as belonging. Clearly the second group of examples which are specified as post-traumatic (physical and mental) appear to be precipitated conditions comparable to Glover's functional group or in a neurological analogy to Babinski's 'paralyses of a reflex disorder' which he applied to certain non-organic neuro-behavioural disorders observed in the battle zone of the First World War. The concept is now obsolete. Many were transitory organic states and the rest were hysterical disorders on the threshold of psychosomatic in Glover's sense. But in all the examples in this paper there was evidence of a predispositional mental trend and process in the persons which influenced the subsequent behaviour. In any circumstances each had endopsychic dynamics which had constitutional features, social field properties which were needed to give the delinquent trend not only its specific structure, but the necessary threshold value to fire off if occasion arose, in a given situation, or to remain in the personality diffused through a character structure in inhibition, or as a potential. Many larval delinquent states or potentialities need a specific situation to render them kinetic, and they can be reversible, i.e. return as character inhibitions. It is this I venture to regard as their relation to hypothetical normality.

It is necessary to add, however, that if these delinquent traits in quasi-normal persons are to be fully understood and assessed it seems obligatory to study the family sociology of the particular person under review. Each person has field properties derived in the first place from his family field and in the second from neighbourhood and society. These enter into the super-ego and indeed the ego structure too. These considerations have not been sufficiently accounted for in psycho-analytic thought.

Delinquent traits can perhaps be primary, secondary and even tertiary. Firstly, in so far as they derive from deepest processes in child development

which have dynamics analogous to neurosis: these provide the examples of true criminoses which would emerge in any environment—the latter providing perhaps the superficial qualities and opportunities characteristic of the disorder. The second are the characterological variety to which the examples given belong, and which include the bulk of mankind with its concern about, even preoccupation with delinquent themes in literature, plays, films, and legal procedures. Thirdly, the functional cases which belong perhaps to Glover's group.

Reference has been made to the manner in which tests as well as analysis can assist in the disclosure of delinquent trends or undertones. The Thematic Apperception Test of Murray (T.A.T.) is in the writer's submission prone to be coloured by the prevailing interest in crime detection and the thriller novel. Even if the dénouement of these projective stories is of virtue triumphant this too may be the consequence of the stereotyped moral pattern—i.e. crime does not pay. Nevertheless, the tests are in the nature of disclosures not alone of trends potential but wrapped up in character inhibitions, but they embody the possibility of active expression. The possibility of acting out cannot be excluded as the next step.

In 1950 Professor Henri Baruk formulated a test of moral understanding finding its expression in the appreciation of situations demanding an understanding of the amalgam of justice and charity (*Le Test Tsedek*). Professor Baruk claimed that his questionnaire was able to distinguish between the delinquent and non-delinquent. If this conclusion is a valid one then it should prove possible to detect delinquent potentiality, in terms of moral understanding. The delinquent undertone is only capable of overt expression if certain circumstances obtain. In the manifold of such circumstances, one is the ecological factor. It must be admitted that this factor is itself by no means a simple one. Nevertheless a few examples may illustrate the problem. How far indeed do potential delinquent trends become manifest as a result, for example, of culture clashes, or intra social-political strife as Comfort suggests? The emergence of violence in such clashes does not place such acts automatically within the definition of delinquency, no more than violence and rape prevalent in warfare can be categorized as delinquent, even admitting that the individual perpetrators may prove on inspection to have psychopathic traits. Consider these examples :—

(1) A boy referred to a clinic for a behaviour disorder showed rebelliousness at home but normal conduct at school. However, during the course of treatment, and in consequence of the father's particular skill, the family was obliged to move near a gas works where the father's special skill was needed. They could only find accommodation in a street which was known to the social worker to be of a particularly poor social quality. Of the seventy-five houses in the street as many as thirty were occupied by the receivers of stolen property, prostitutes and fre-

quently unemployed males. Within a month of the family in question residing there, the young clinic patient was in a gang of boy thieves who appeared before the juvenile court. The family was otherwise a stable one, and Jack, shall we call him, was the only member showing delinquent conduct. With the help of the social worker the family was found other quarters which enabled the father to continue his work. Jack's stealing ceased, and his other problems were worked through and largely solved by the therapeutic efforts of the child guidance team.

(2) A region in the heart of the metropolis has for many generations been associated with a particular craft, the workers in which lived with their families in the area, and as the city became almost completely commercialized, it was isolated as a group. The community was a stable one and had the mores and pride which commonly develop around a craft and in such relative isolation. With the necessary introduction of new electro-mechanical techniques a new group of technicians and their families entered the region. Up to that time, while a number of neurotic disorders occurred in this community as in any other human group, delinquent behaviour was relatively unknown until this quasi-invasion took place. Whereupon the clinic for child guidance was called upon to see a number of delinquent children, and these, on inspection, had incipient nervous traits and hitherto undetected neurotic character features. The war, however, led to a great change in the region. The whole of the former community spirit and its problems have passed, and the investigation which promised invaluable social psychiatric enlightenment was unfortunately brought to an end. Such regional behaviour studies should prove rewarding.

(3) Lastly, an example in reverse. J. B., a boy of 11 years, was seen because of a variety of delinquent features. He lived with an elderly widowed mother in a tough quarter of Pimlico. He was rebellious, unstable emotionally but a tough, loud-mouthed short-term leader of a gang with a high degree of primitive organization. It had its leader and subordinates, even its molls; it waged planned battles in the local waste lands. Language was ripe with obscenity and sexual behaviour was relatively precocious for so largely a pre-pubertal group. J. B. was seen at the clinic and treated both psychologically and socially. It became necessary to transfer him to a school for the maladjusted, orderly but moderately permissive. After three months at this school he was seen again. He was well behaved but subdued. The old gaiety and truculence had gone. He had a facial tic. He was the most submissive and orderly boy at the school, but to me a most miserable youngster without a spark of his former liveliness. His projection tests disclosed the same potential delinquent patterns as registered before the change of school, with moral conclusions in the stories more accentuated.

These considerations suggest how much research with controlled methods needs to be done to define more delicately the processes and the possible laws of social psychology which govern both the suppression and the emergence of delinquent traits into active form. The following lines of enquiry appear to the writer to merit investigation and promise illumination:—

- (1) What determines the emergence of delinquent traits in families; in what manner does a family group operate against a prevailing social current of 'normality'?

- (2) In what manner are certain delinquent traits provoked into action by: physical trauma; psychological trauma; social mobility and other ecological influence?
- (3) In what manner can current interests in the theatre, the films and public displays, broadcasting provoke dormant delinquent traits into action?
- (4) What differentia can psycho-analysis disclose to determine which ego structures can resist the upsurge of the anti-social undertones in 'human nature'?
- (5) What are the brittle features in character and in neurosis which makes possible the emergence of those larval trends considered in this paper, and which on inspection of normal persons prove them to be much more widespread potentials than is commonly supposed?

SUMMARY

The problem of normality and health is discussed in the light of historic and intuitive opinion and in the light of contemporary sociological, medical and psychiatric disciplines.

Traits detected in normal persons are considered and groups of parents of children are described as tested for abnormal traits not overtly affecting conduct.

Post-traumatic cases, physical and psychological, are described in which delinquent conduct became evident. The part played by social conventions in the Arts in particular is discussed and the matter of the necessary part that asocial traits play in the fabric of social man.

The problem of ecological factors in controlling and incubating delinquency is touched upon.

Points for future research in testing for delinquent undertones are outlined.

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AFTER-EFFECTS OF PUNITIVE DETENTION¹

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INTRODUCTION

Detention in a detention centre is still a controversial subject. More than ten years have passed since provisions for this form of punishment appeared in the Statute Book and more than six years since the first detention centre, Campsfield House, Kidlington, was opened. Throughout these years the initial criticism has not abated. From the outset, the ill-chosen phrase 'a short sharp shock' has aroused the suspicion that this was a reactionary and repressive device, while recent developments in strengthening a personal approach within a deliberately undifferentiated régime are disclaimed as an abandonment of the underlying principle. In the meantime, the White Paper on 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' has envisaged, with what the Magistrates' Association called 'restrained enthusiasm', two more centres in addition to the existing four, and put six others on the list of future building plans.² In accordance with these proposals, the Civil Estimates for Prisons for 1959-60 provided for the building of the two additional centres and announced a first instalment for the erection of the six further centres.³ In this situation, a critical assessment of some of the experience obtained might be an appropriate contribution to the present discussion. The present article is a sequel to the previous report on the first hundred boys received in Campsfield House.⁴

When the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, introduced detention in a detention centre, the new measure was intended as a legal punishment for offenders of 14 and under 21 years of age. Punishment in this context means a deliberately

¹ This paper is the result of studies which were undertaken with the support of the Home Office and the Social Studies Board of the University of Oxford. Mrs. E. Wiles did the field-work at Campsfield House and Mr. I. Wayman at Blantyre House. Mrs. S. McCabe and Mrs. E. Wiles co-operated in the statistical evaluation of the material and the presentation of the results. The author owes grateful thanks to the Wardens of the Centres, to Scotland Yard, the Central After Care Association, Headmasters of Approved Schools and numerous probation officers for invaluable help in these investigations. He also wishes to thank Mr. T. S. Lodge, Statistical Adviser to the Home Office, for his constant help and interest in criminological research work in Oxford.

² White Paper Cmd. 645, s. 93, p. 22; *The Magistrate*, 1959, 15, 27.

³ Civil Estimates Class III, Home Department, Law and Justice, February 1959, 79/III.

⁴ *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1955, 5, 191-209.

imposed hardship, an enforced sacrifice calculated to be a reaction to a criminal act committed with a guilty mind. This punishment should not be inconsistent with a policy which makes generous use of non-punitive measures for young lawbreakers. Indeed, in 1957, out of 100 young persons of 14 and under 17, found guilty of indictable offences, 28 were discharged and 36 put on probation. In the next age-group, 17 and under 21, nearly 15 were discharged and 27 put on probation. A punishment which has its place within such a system must be acceptable from the point of view of the education and welfare of the young offender. As a short-term treatment, detention in a detention centre has its characteristics and its limitations. The short period within the centre, normally three months minus a fortnight remission, rules out any classification, not to speak of individualization of treatment. Nor is there time or opportunity for trial and experiment by loosening supervision and control and exposing the young offender to calculated risks. It is an attempt to throw him into a régime of clear directions and an established pattern of institutional life. The shortness of time stresses the insistence on tempo and alertness and adds to the whole treatment a sense of urgency which, if used wisely, can be an invaluable element in the corrective procedure.

SENTENCING PRACTICE OF THE COURTS

s. 18 of the Criminal Justice Act provides that this form of punishment is only admissible if no other measure at the disposal of the courts appears to be appropriate in the individual case. The experience obtained with the first group of junior boys received after the opening of Campsfield House in 1952 confirmed that the success, if not the justification, of this form of treatment depends on the right selection of offenders sent to the centre. The second Home Office Circular No. 37/1956 of 15th March, 1956 made it clear that the application of appropriate standards for selection would make only a small proportion of young offenders appear eligible for punitive detention. The 'undisciplined rough' whose delinquency, though severe, is not due to deep-rooted personal factors nor to a persistently adverse home background, and who has no previous experience of life in an institution, is a type not unknown to the courts, although he may not make up the bulk of the present rising criminality of young people. In the light of the evidence from the junior centre these boys differ from the popular picture of a 'tough'. Their criminal activities are not the expression of an excess of strength and energy which has no legitimate outlet. Rather does their fault lie in evasiveness and self-indulgence, in not trying hard enough, in staying away from home, and being indifferent, if not ruthless, to their mothers and younger brothers and sisters. The three cases which follow illustrate this type of boy. They were

selected from the files of thirty boys received at the Junior Centre within a month.

A boy of 16, whose parents had separated, lived with his mother and relatives. He was the older of two children, always courteous and cheerful, enjoying generous pocket money, and smoking fifteen cigarettes a day. He never made a sustained effort and came to Campsfield after his third offence, when, with two others, he broke into a fruit shop. At the centre he appeared selfish and not a good mixer, but he was alert to orders and improved in his standards. Another boy of the same age was the fourth of five children of respectable parents. His father was an engineer who had worked for thirty-four years in the same firm. The boy had a good record from a secondary modern school, but he was inclined to stay away from home, did not bring his friends home and sought the company of American soldiers and of women. While he was on probation for larceny, he broke into a neighbour's house where he had worked in the garden. At Campsfield he showed his ability for hard work, he was good at gymnastics and games and he gave the staff the impression of character and personality. Another boy of 16, fifth of the seven children of a widow, used to stay away from home at night. He was an apprentice builder, but his irregular work habits proved a source of constant worry; he became redundant and worked as a labourer. While on probation for receiving stolen property, he committed an act of store-breaking which brought him to Campsfield House. At the Centre he was good at work and games and gained in maturity, while he was, as the staff claimed, 'treated as a young man'. All three boys remained free from reconviction for at least three years subsequent to their release from the detention centre.

The present survey is based on a study of the boys received at the Junior Centre, Campsfield House, Kidlington, in the first two years after it was opened in 1952, and of the first 144 young men of 17 and under 21 received at the Senior Centre, Blantyre House, Goudhurst. Both groups of offenders were followed up for a period at risk of two years after their release from the centre. The total number of boys received at Campsfield House in the first two years was 452. However, 18 cases had to be omitted from the investigation because, for one reason or another, these boys did not serve a regular term of sentence at the Centre, or else full information was not available. The discussion which follows covers therefore a group of 434 junior boys. For them and for the senior boys from Blantyre House, detailed case studies were prepared on the strength of evidence collected from probation officers' reports, observations made by the staff of the centre, further reports of probation officers or welfare officers when boys released from the centre were under any form of supervision, and further institutional records of those who found their way to Approved Schools or Borstals. With the help of Scotland Yard, all boys under investigation were checked for reconvictions at the Criminal Record Office and the local police authority during a two year follow-up period.

The outcome of any penal and corrective treatment depends on two factors, the selection of offenders by sentencing courts and the method of treatment, including after-care, applied by the administration. An examination of boys committed to Campsfield House within the first two years gives the impression that the courts adjusted their sentencing practice to the principles derived from experience obtained in the early days of the centre (Table 1). A comparison of the entrants in the first and in the fourth half-year of the two-year period shows that the proportion of first-offenders rose from 8 per cent. to 28.2 per cent. At the same time the proportion of the hard core of boys with three and more previous convictions remained nearly constant and amounted to more than one-quarter of the number of boys received at the centre. However, the percentage of boys with a bad personal background decreased from 28 to only 8.3 per cent. In this context, as in the survey as a whole, the assessment of a boy's personal background is based on the judgment of three factors, relationship to family, work habits and leisure-time pursuits. A boy who, on the strength of ascertainable facts, appears to be good in all three factors is regarded as having a good personal background; if he has no more than two good factors he is assessed as having a fair background; and only with three bad points is he deemed to have a bad personal background.

TABLE 1

Previous Criminal Record, Personal Background and Previous Treatment of Boys committed to Campsfield House in Four Periods of Six Months each from the Opening of the Centre

<i>Criminal Record</i>	<i>Period I</i>	<i>Period II</i>	<i>Period III</i>	<i>Period IV</i>	<i>Total</i>
No previous offences	8	27	18	37	90
1-2 previous offences	64	50	57	58	229
3 or more previous offences . .	29	22	28	36	115
	101	99	103	131	434
<i>Personal Background</i>					
Good	16	11	22	36	85
Fair	57	69	62	84	272
Bad	28	19	19	11	77
	101	99	103	131	434
<i>Previous Treatment</i>					
No previous treatment	25	34	27	44	130
Probation only	48	40	55	56	199
Probation and institutional treatment	23	19	18	21	81
Institutional treatment only . .	5	6	3	10	24
	101	99	103	131	434

In spite of the apparent tendency towards a more positive selection at the close of the first two-year period, the percentage of boys with previous institutional experience changed only slightly from 28 per cent. in the first to 23·6 per cent. in the fourth half-year. More recently, however, the repeated assertion that boys who failed in, or escaped from, previous institutional treatment do not have good prospects under short-term treatment, shows its effect in the sentencing practice of the courts. In 1957, no more than 6·5 per cent. of the juniors and 11·5 per cent. of the seniors committed to detention centres had any previous institutional experience.⁵

Among the junior boys under observation, the majority, as always, had committed offences against property. In the first four half-year periods, the proportion of offenders against property varied between 70 and 80 per cent., almost equally divided between cases of larceny and breaking and entering. At the same time, the much smaller numbers of boys who took and drove motor vehicles without the consent of their owners increased from 5 per cent. in the first half-year to 13·7 per cent. in the last half-year, and boys guilty of acts of violence from 4 to 8·3 per cent. The majority of the boys, 229 out of 434, had one or two previous convictions, the rest being divided into 90 first-offenders and 115 boys with three or more previous offences. However, most of those with no previous convictions were first-offenders in a technical sense only. Among them, more than every third was in court on more than one charge, or had other offences taken into consideration. In the group under observation there is one boy with 23 and another with 40 cases taken into consideration. When a boy is sent to the centre on what seems on the surface a trifling charge of stealing flags worth 17s. 6d. or, as a first offence, snatching a handbag from a girl, there is often a long history of truancy, taking money from a purse at home or of association with young people of ill-repute, as in the case of a young delinquent under the influence of an older boy who had 37 offences taken into consideration.

There are some differences between the junior and the senior centre with regard to the boys' criminal records. Among the seniors, offenders against property form a smaller proportion. Less than half the total of 144 young men under observation were convicted of larceny or breaking and entering. If one adds cases of loitering, being in possession of housebreaking implements and being found on enclosed premises, offences which often imply attempted violations of other people's property, the aggregate sum of 79 is only a small majority of the group of 144 offenders. Taking and driving a motor vehicle amounts to some 8 per cent., as among the juniors. Acts of personal violence are more frequent and amount to 14 per cent. against 6 per

⁵ Report of the Prison Commissioners, 1957, pp. 82 f.

cent. among the juniors. There were three conscientious objectors among the first batch of 144 young men.

As far as previous court appearances are concerned, the seniors show no great difference in the proportion of offenders with more serious recidivism. While the majority of senior boys, like the younger boys, had one to two previous known offences, 17 per cent. of the seniors were, at least technically, first offenders and more than every fourth had three or more previous convictions. The difference between the two groups is most obvious in the boys' personal background. While 20 per cent. of the juniors had a good personal background, only 10 per cent. of the seniors could be so assessed; 18 per cent. of the juniors had a bad personal background as against 36 per cent. of the seniors. Apparently recidivists of the higher age-group include a number of boys who had failed after previous treatment owing to their bad personal background. This seems to be so in the case of probation. Courts sentenced senior boys to detention in cases where a bad personal background made a continuation of probation inadvisable. While the proportion of boys who had been on probation before does not differ much in the junior and the senior centre, the percentage of those sent to the centre after a breach of probation was only 2·7 in the junior and 8 in the senior centre. Among the 12 offenders sent to the senior centre after a breach of probation, 8 had a bad personal background, the other 4 a fair background, but none of them was assessed as having a good personal background.

AFTER-CONDUCT

The main interest of the present study is focused on the question of what happened to these boys after they left the detention centre. It is somewhat presumptuous to speak of after-effects of treatment, because it is extremely difficult to isolate the treatment factor among the numerous known and unknown forces which influence an individual for good or for evil. Nobody can say whether boys who are successful after a sentence of detention would be equally well adjusted if they had been on probation, or whether those who find themselves in trouble again would have been prevented from failure if they had had a Borstal training. In any assessment of post-treatment behaviour, the obvious though by no means infallible criterion is the absence or occurrence of a reconviction within a certain period at risk. Magistrates sentence boys to the centre in the hope that, after this experience, they will refrain from committing further offences. Those responsible for the treatment itself regard it as their primary function to procure the boys' social rehabilitation in the sense that they have not to appear before the court again.

As a result of the present investigation, the reconviction rate within a

two-year post-treatment period of risk was as follows:

Juniors	44.9
Seniors in civilian life	36.1
Seniors serving in the armed forces	43.5

As an illustration rather than a proper comparison, a corresponding figure for Borstal boys has been taken from the Prison Commissioners' Report; it is 46.5.

These figures reflect the experience of two years of the administration of Campsfield House, but they refer only to a comparatively small number of senior boys committed to Blantyre House just after it had been opened. They are, therefore, no evidence of a superiority of detention in a senior centre. The higher rate of reconviction of men in the forces appearing before civilian courts must be seen in the light of the different forms of criminality among these repeaters. The great temptation of the young soldier was taking and driving away a vehicle, probably a service vehicle; 8 out of 20 repeaters from the army group were found guilty of this offence as against only 3 out of 35 civilians. Stealing or breaking and entering was committed by 18 out of 35 civilian repeaters as against 9 out of 20 in the army group. What is perhaps more surprising is the higher rate of reconviction among the juniors in spite of the fact that they include more boys with a good personal background. The junior group includes the peak age of criminality. In 1957 the number of boys of 14 and under 17 found guilty of indictable offences per 100,000 of this age-group was 2,058, while the corresponding rate for 17 and under 21 was 1,555.⁶ When young persons in general commit more offences than their older contemporaries, a similar result must be expected of offenders of this age-group who had been at a detention centre. This is further corroborated by the general experience of the Prison Commissioners that rates of recommittal to prison decrease with higher age-groups.⁷

The greater number of junior boys under observation and the longer period throughout which field-work could be done at Campsfield House make it possible to give more details about the post-treatment careers of these junior boys. In order to facilitate comparisons with other investigations, reconvictions were also counted for a three-year follow-up period, and restricted to finger-printable offences. On this basis, out of 300 boys released from Campsfield House, 140 or 46.6 per cent. were reconvicted.

A division of the original two-year span into four consecutive half-year periods confirms the general experience that the risk of relapse is highest in

⁶ 'Criminal Statistics,' 1957. Appendix II, p. xlvi.

⁷ Report of the Prison Commissioners, 1957, Appendix 10A, pp. 179 *seq.*

the first months after the release and decreases steadily in the course of time. Out of the 195 repeaters, 81 had their first reconviction within the first six months, 52 within the second half-year, 38 within the third and 24 within the fourth. However, this harmonious picture becomes more irregular if one follows up the reconvictions month by month. Table 2 suggests that for the junior boys the danger zone is the time from the third to the sixth month with a further peak in the eleventh month and an unexpected though smaller peak in the twenty-second month. For the seniors released to civilian life there is a concentration of reconvictions between the second and ninth month.

TABLE 2

Table showing First Reconvictions of 434 Boys released from Campsfield House and 97 Boys released from Blantyre House within the First Twenty-four Months after Release

	<i>Campsfield House</i>	<i>Blantyre House</i>
Reconvicted within 1 month . .	11	0
" " 2 months . .	6	7
" " 3 " . .	16	5
" " 4 " . .	14	1
" " 5 " . .	14	5
" " 6 " . .	20	1
" " 7 " . .	8	2
" " 8 " . .	13	2
" " 9 " . .	6	4
" " 10 " . .	5	1
" " 11 " . .	8	0
" " 12 " . .	12	0
" " 13 " . .	7	1
" " 14 " . .	6	1
" " 15 " . .	8	1
" " 16 " . .	5	2
" " 17 " . .	6	0
" " 18 " . .	6	0
" " 19 " . .	3	0
" " 20 " . .	2	1
" " 21 " . .	3	0
" " 22 " . .	9	0
" " 23 " . .	1	0
" " 24 " . .	6	1
Not convicted within 24 months .	195	35
	239	62
	434	97

This total refers only to those cases where the boy did not, after his release, enter any of the Armed Forces. Full comparison with the Campsfield House, unselected, group is not therefore possible.

The absence of reconviction is not the only criterion of successful social adjustment nor is it the only aim of corrective treatment. Table 3 gives an impression of consistency and change in the boys' attitudes and human relationships by comparing their personal background before their admission to Campsfield House and after their discharge. There were 150 boys for whom sufficient information was available both for the time before and after the period of detention; 63 boys or 42 per cent. showed an improvement in

TABLE 3
Campsfield House

<i>Before Admission</i>	<i>Social Adjustment Before and After Detention at Campsfield House</i>			
	<i>After Discharge</i>			
<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i> 18	<i>Fair</i> 9	<i>Bad</i> 2	<i>Total</i> 29
<i>Fair</i>	49	33	15	97
<i>Bad</i>	10	4	10	24
<i>Total</i>	77	46	27	150

their personal background while 26 or 17 per cent. lost ground. Of the remaining 61 who appeared to be unchanged, 18 had a good background, 33 a fair and 10 a bad one. The number of boys with a good background increased from 29 to 77, and the number of boys with a bad background increased only slightly from 24 to 27. While no more than 2 out of 29 'good' boys became 'bad', no less than 10 out of 24 'bad' boys turned out to be 'good'. Where there is sufficient evidence of satisfactory progress, the question is still open whether and how far such improvement is due to the treatment at the centre or to a belated process of attaining maturity. A penal and corrective treatment would be justified if it facilitated the natural process of maturity and social assimilation, or at least did not hinder it.

The numerical assessment of reconvictions must be supplemented by consideration of the type of criminal activities which brought these boys to Campsfield and which led to their subsequent reappearance before the courts. Within the limits of what the legal categories of particular offences indicate, such comparison gives the impression of considerable consistency in the criminal activities of these repeaters; 78 out of 195 repeaters committed the same offence as before. In the large group of offences against property, comprising both larceny and breaking and entering, no less than 102 out of 142 committed acts of dishonesty again. If one assumes that a case of breaking and entering indicates more intense criminal inclinations than an

act of larceny, there is a movement from more serious to less serious crime. Among the original offences against property, more than every second was a case of breaking and entering, while 3 out of every 5 repeaters guilty of offences against property committed only larceny. In fact, out of 51 who had originally been guilty of breaking and entering, 23 contented themselves with larceny, while of 51 boys originally sentenced for larceny only 13 proceeded to breaking and entering. The 'auto-fans' showed less consistency than one might expect. Out of 22 whose interest in other peoples' cars brought them to Campsfield and who committed new offences, only 6 repeated the same offence while 10 others indulged in pleasure trips after they had originally committed other offences.

THE DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE

The discussion of the number of reconvictions and of the offences which brought the repeaters back to the court leads to the question: *who* are the boys who succeed and *who* are the ones who fail, after they have served their sentence at the centre?

TABLE 4

Previous Criminal Record, Previous Treatment and Personal Background of Boys released from Campsfield with and without further Reconviction within Two Years

<i>Criminal Record</i>	<i>Not Reconvicted Within Two Years</i>	<i>Reconvicted Within Two Years</i>	<i>Total</i>
No offences	60	30	90
1-2 offences	138	91	229
3 or more offences	41	74	115
	239	195	434
<i>Previous Treatment</i>			
No treatment	89	41	130
Probation only	110	89	199
Probation plus institutional treatment	31	50	81
Institutional treatment only	9	15	24
	239	195	434
<i>Personal Background</i>			
Good	61	24	85
Fair	148	124	272
Bad	30	47	77
	239	195	434

In each case the differences between reconviction and non-reconviction are significant at a 1 per cent. level.

Table 4 shows for the whole group of junior boys a classification according to three factors, criminal record, previous penal and corrective treatment and personal background. If one analyses, in conjunction with these factors, the reconvictions within two years after the release of each boy from the centre, the difference is significant in all three respects. Two-thirds of the first offenders had no reconvictions, while almost two out of three boys with three and more previous offences were reconvicted. Out of the 329 boys who had not been in any penal or corrective institution, 199 had no reconvictions, while out of 105 boys with previous institutional experience no less than 65 were reconvicted. Obviously those without previous institutional experience include a considerable number of first offenders. Nearly 3 out of 4 boys with a good personal background kept free from reconvictions, while 47 out of 77 boys with a bad personal background appeared before the court again.

The better chance of boys without a criminal record, without a period of apparently unsuccessful institutional treatment, above all, of boys with a good personal background, is not surprising. It corresponds with what one would expect, and with general experience in most forms of penal and corrective treatment. For an adequate assessment of a treatment method it is also essential to consider the outcome of those cases which, according to general experience and statistical evaluation, form a bad risk. In the junior centre, the experience with these more difficult boys was not entirely discouraging; 41 out of 115 boys with three and more previous offences, 31 out of 81 boys who had failed both on probation and under institutional treatment, and 30 out of 77 boys with a bad personal background kept free from reconvictions for two years after their release. In the medium group, boys with one or two previous offences, and boys with only a fair personal background, those free from reconviction outnumbered the repeaters.

The evidence of the further criminal records of young men released from the senior centre shows a certain similarity with the junior boys. A review of all civilian and army cases with and without reconviction for whom information was available suggests a significant difference in outcome with regard to criminal record and previous experience of other forms of penal and corrective treatment. Two out of three first offenders were not reconvicted, while out of the number of offenders with three or more previous convictions those with a subsequent conviction slightly outnumbered those without reconvictions. Again two-thirds of the number of boys with no previous institutional experience had no reconvictions against only three-eighths of the number of offenders who had previously been in another institution. The different composition of the senior group with its higher proportion of boys with a bad personal background provides no evidence of a possible effect of this factor on the outcome of treatment. The small

number of boys with a good personal background had no apparent effect on the outcome of the group. Whether the background was assessed as good, fair or bad, the number of boys with no reconvictions was always greater than the numbers of reconvicted offenders.

Like the more subtle methods of crime prediction, these descriptive studies easily give the impression that, on the strength of certain given circumstances, success or failure are predetermined. If this were so, penal and corrective practice would be reduced to a number of selective processes which leave little room for personal effort and individual treatment. Refined case-work methods have led to the recognition of a personal relationship as the basis of any 'treatment' of abnormal or anti-social behaviour. This applies even to a régime which is deliberately more impersonal and coercive than other forms of institutional treatment. Work, physical exercise, educational activities as well as relationship to the staff and to other boys offer an opportunity for observing, testing and influencing the attitudes and behaviour of the boys. On the strength of the factual observations of the staff at the junior centre, the response of 280 boys to the treatment was assessed in general terms and marked good, average or poor. These scores are distributed in a normal curve; 78 boys showed a good, 128 boys an average and 74 a poor response. If one relates the response of the boys to their reconvictions, one finds a difference in the reconviction rate of boys with good and with poor response. Among 135 boys with no reconvictions, 52 had responded well and 22 unsatisfactorily to the treatment. Among the 145 repeaters, however, only 26 had shown a good and 52 a poor response. As in other forms of institutional treatment, the immediate response to training is far from being an infallible indicator of further attitudes and behaviour. The spineless boy works and behaves fairly well under supervision, but gives way to temptation and undesirable influences once the strict control is withdrawn; 18 per cent. of the boys who were reconvicted had a record of a good response at the centre.

THE QUESTION OF AFTER-CARE

All critics of the present form of punitive detention concur in the opinion that its principal defect is the absence of after-care in the sense of a personal supervision comparable with probation. If detention has a deterrent effect, deterrence is apt to wear off after a short time. If it means an enforced acceptance of attitudes and demeanour, such achievements easily fade away once the force behind them has been withdrawn. The law-givers probably feared that a statutory combination of detention and a form of probation might induce magistrates to make frequent use of a form of treatment intended only for a small selection of young offenders. There is the further

difficulty of providing a statutory after-care following a short stay in an institution with the necessary legal sanction for a breach of licence. Various devices have been tried to fill this gap in the existing law and to provide for appropriate care and supervision after a boy's release from the centre. Boys were persuaded, with varying success, to accept voluntary supervision although, in practice, this does not imply much more than an appointment with the probation officer in the first days of the boy's return home. Former pupils of Approved Schools were sometimes still under supervision of welfare officers beyond their term of detention. In the case of a breach of probation by a new offence, courts sometimes leave the probation order in force when they commit the boy to detention. In every seventh case of boys committed to Campsfield House in the period under review, the courts made an order of detention on one charge and a probation order on the other. In numerous cases, magistrates and Chairmen of Quarter Sessions only felt justified in sending a young offender to a detention centre when they were able to make provision for his after-care in this way. From a strict legal point of view, it was doubtful whether a court could say that, as s. 18 requires, none of the other methods of treatment available to the court is appropriate and that the boy has therefore to go to a detention centre, but that at the same time, though on a different charge, probation would also be appropriate. Since the decision of the Lord Chief Justice in the Court of Criminal Appeal in *R. v. Evans* [1958] 3 All. E. R. 673, this expedient is no longer admissible. The Lord Chief Justice laid it down that probation means handing over the offender to the probation officer at once. A probation order must be based on an assessment of the offender's character at the time the order was made and not on its probable state after a time of detention.

The experience obtained so far with junior boys under one or the other form of probationary supervision varies with the different intensity of after-care. Throughout a follow-up period of two years, voluntary supervision by a probation officer or continued probation or Approved School after-care make practically no difference with regard to reconvictions. Cases where a probation order was made simultaneously with the detention sentence fare somewhat better. In this group, 43 out of 62 or 69·3 per cent. remained free of reconviction, against 196 out of 372 or 52·6 per cent. of all other boys released from Campsfield House.

THE FATE OF THE REPEATERS

For an adequate assessment of present-day penal practice, one has not only to calculate the probability of success or failure in a given post-treatment period, but also to follow-up the fate of those who appear before the court again. Of 195 juniors who were reconvicted after their release from the

centre, more than every second was committed to an institution of one kind or another, more than one-fourth of the total was fined, and only every fifth boy was put on probation. Out of 35 seniors released from Blantyre House into civilian life who were reconvicted, no less than 26 found their way to Borstal or prison.

The next question is: what was the outcome of the treatment awarded on the first reconviction of these boys? Out of 38 juniors put on probation, 27 or nearly 3 out of 4 had no further reconviction within two years after they left Campsfield House. Of the 11 others, one was put on probation again and the other 10 were committed to institutions. This meant for 8 of them a committal to Borstal. The outcome of these probation cases illustrates the value of probationary after-care for the readjustment of boys sentenced to punitive detention.

In order to follow up the further careers of boys who, after a term at the centre, appeared before the court again and were recommitted to an institution, the observation period was extended to the end of February 1958. If one leaves out those who had to be returned from the centre to another institution and concentrates on 416 boys released to the world at large, the result is as follows. Out of every 100 boys discharged from Campsfield House, 33, or every third, were recommitted to an Approved School, Borstal or prison, and out of these, 7 had to go for at least one more term to Borstal or prison. These figures suggest that, in spite of reconvictions following a renewed failure, after each subsequent period of institutional treatment a number of boys find their way, if not to a blameless life, at least to a social adjustment which needs no further institutional treatment. At the same time the figures reveal a pathetic picture of a minority of boys whose road leads from one institution to another where they are each time more institutionalized and less susceptible to either coercive or constructive methods. This situation has contributed much to the criticism of detention centres which one often meets among those who work in other fields of penal and corrective treatment. Probation officers, wardens of probation homes, housemasters in Approved Schools and Borsstals see only the apparent failures of detention centres, while the detention centres object to being used for the failures of Approved Schools. Behind these difficulties lies the great unsolved problem of present-day penal practice, the question of how to treat those who have failed in or after previous forms of institutional treatment. At present, as the Warden of one of the centres once said, the 'pilgrim's progress' moves in the wrong direction, from smaller places with individualized treatment to larger, more impersonal penal establishments. Recent experiments in France with small institutions for 12-20 difficult boys, including those already institutionalized, provide an opportunity for highly

individualized treatment and are therefore a pointer in the right direction.⁸

THE PLACE OF DETENTION CENTRES IN FUTURE PENAL PRACTICE

The preceding discussion offers evidence about the boys received at a junior and a senior detention centre and about their further careers. Statistics of reconviction alone are no proof of the efficacy or otherwise of a particular form of treatment. The reasons why a young man leads a law-abiding life are sometimes more difficult to ascertain than the complex causes of crime. However, with this reservation, it is relevant for the assessment of the value of a particular form of treatment to know what happened afterwards to those to whom it was applied. As a result of these studies 55.1 per cent. of the juniors, 63.9 per cent. of the civilian seniors and 56.5 of the seniors who joined the armed forces were free of any reconviction throughout two years after they had been discharged from the centre. Lack of previous convictions, absence of previous institutional treatment, positive response to the treatment at the centre, and, in the case of the juniors, a good personal background are factors more or less associated with absence of reconvictions. A study of the social adjustment of junior boys showed that 42 per cent. of the boys improved their personal background while 17 per cent. deteriorated in their personal background. Treatment methods, however, should not be assessed on the strength of the maximum success of the good risks only, but also on the outcome of the less favourable cases. In the junior centre, of those who had one or two previous convictions, and of those with only a fair personal background, the majority was not reconvicted. There was, to a certain extent, an absence of reconviction among boys with three or more previous convictions and among boys with a bad personal background, 41 out of 115 boys with three or more convictions and 30 out of 77 boys with a bad personal background were not reconvicted. In the senior centre, too, 18 out of 39 young men with three and more previous convictions and a majority of 29 out of 52 boys with a bad personal background were not reconvicted within two years. There is still a certain prospect that a boy can be led back to a law-abiding life even in unfavourable circumstances. This observation justifies the proposition that detention in a detention centre has a legitimate place in a differentiated system of penal and corrective methods for juvenile delinquents and adolescent offenders.

The proposals of the White paper on 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' involve an extension of the scope of punitive detention. It is their proclaimed aim to withhold all minors from the common prison except those who are sentenced to more than three years imprisonment. Such a solution

⁸ A. Besson (ed.), 'Les Enfants et les Adolescents socialement inadaptés,' Publication du Centre d'Études de Défense Sociale, Paris 1958, pp. 299 *seq.*

would bring the policy inaugurated by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, especially the enabling clause of s. 17 (4), to its final conclusion. It is suggested that the courts should no longer have the alternative of sentencing a minor over 16 years of age either to Borstal training or to a fixed prison term. Instead, all sentences up to six months should be detention, and all sentences of more than six months and less than three years should be given in the new form of 'custodial training' which appears to be intended as a modified Borstal sentence. In 1957, 1,054 male and 98 female offenders under 21 served prison sentences of no more than six months. In the same year 553 young men of the age 17-21 served sentences of detention in a senior detention centre.⁹ This means that if the present plans materialize we need six instead of the present two senior detention centres.

On the strength of the evidence presented in the preceding discussion there are serious objections to such prospects. Continuous efforts had to be made to persuade magistrates and chairmen of Quarter Sessions that only a comparatively small number of certain types of offenders are suitable for treatment in a detention centre. It is the experience of those working in detention centres that three months is the most suitable period. If, independently of these considerations, twice the number of the present inmates are sent to the centres in addition to their present complement, and committed for terms of different lengths up to six months, results will rapidly become less satisfactory. Or else the detention centre will lose its character of a specialized short-term treatment for young offenders and degenerate into a mere name for short prison sentences.

In order to maintain the aim of eliminating prison sentences for minors and avoiding the pitfalls of an indiscriminate use of detention centres the law should lay down a period of three months as the statutory term of detention. This leaves the court with a choice between three forms of treatment in cases where a need for treatment is indicated, either probation or short-term treatment in a detention centre or the longer training in the flexible form of the modified Borstal sentence. It is no objection to this solution that it creates a gap between the three months' detention and the six months which form the minimum term which an offender has to stay in an institution under the new form of custodial training. Only a retributive system requires a continuous scale of increasingly longer sentences. Where, within the considerable range of what appears to be a just punishment, the court selects the treatment appropriate for the social rehabilitation of the individual offender, the sentence must be framed in accordance with the requirements of the specific form of treatment. The authors of the German Juvenile Court Act, 1953, have come to a similar conclusion. According to this Act, the maxi-

⁹ Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1957, pp. 52 and 81.

imum period of youth arrest is four weeks and the minimum of youth prison is six months. In the Report of the Commission of the Federal Assembly the law-givers point out that this gap has to be accepted because, even if retribution requires the imposition of a punishment not amounting to the statutory minimum of youth prison, such punishment would be inadmissible as detrimental to the development of the young lawbreaker.¹⁰

In the new statutory provisions for punitive detention the question of after-care must at last be solved. Corresponding to the short period of detention, the time of statutory after-care should not be too long. Six months should be the maximum, with a certain flexibility which allows for a shortening, if not for a waiving of the supervision altogether. As a sanction for breach of after-care a return to the centre for the fortnight which had been remitted is ruled out. It would be detrimental to the atmosphere at the centre and impracticable where the offender had already forfeited his remission. A fine, according to the provisions for breach of probation in s. 6 (3) Criminal Justice Act, 1948, might be useful in some cases, but not necessarily suitable in every case. It should therefore be left to the discretion of the court to decide what legal sanction up to a statutory limit is to be applied in an individual case.

The White Paper makes no suggestions for the treatment of the 100 girls under 21 who receive prison sentences of no more than six months. A detention centre régime is a masculine form of treatment which, even with modifications, is inapplicable to girls. At the same time, girls should no longer be sentenced to prison when young men are withheld from the common gaol. Instead, as has been suggested elsewhere, probation homes and hostels should be provided for the small number of delinquent girls who would benefit from a short or medium period of institutional or semi-institutional treatment, but are not in need of longer training on Borstal lines.

In these and other questions, whatever the outcome of the present plans for reform in the prevailing penal practice, full use should be made of the experience obtained in the detention centres and of the evidence available on the further careers of those who have gone through this form of treatment.

¹⁰ Dallinger-Lackner. Jugendgerichtsgesetz, München and Berlin, 1955, Note 1 to s. 18.

THE PREDICTION OF DELINQUENCY FROM NON-DELINQUENT BEHAVIOUR

By D. H. STOTT (GLASGOW)

Several attempts have been made to develop an instrument predictive of delinquent behaviour in children, in which psychological and sociological data have been utilized in varying proportions.

Using familial data only, S. and E. Glueck (1950) arrived at a very optimistic estimate of the predictive selectivity of their instrument; but they calculated their probabilities on a hypothetical population consisting half of recidivist delinquents in an industrial school and half of non-delinquent boys in an ordinary day-school. As Walters (1955-56) points out, this is highly artificial. He makes a revised calculation on the—to the Gluecks—generous assumption that 2 per cent. of a boy-population would be committed to correctional schools; this reduces the differentiating value of their highest 'weighted failure score' class in their 3-class table from 89.2 per cent. to 14.13 per cent., while the chances of non-delinquency of these high-scorers rise from the Gluecks' estimate of 10.8 per cent. to 85.87 per cent. In short, only one-seventh of the highest-score class in this table would be delinquents. Even their extreme score of 400 or more would only indicate an even chance of delinquency, but it in turn would be unsatisfactory since it included only 11.3 per cent. of the delinquents in their sample (its predictive range being thus 11.3 per cent. for recidivist delinquents and presumably lower for the less severe types as they would be less easily differentiated from the non-delinquent). It is indeed hardly credible that the five exceedingly general and ill-defined ratings of child-parent relationships, consisting of global estimates of discipline, affection and cohesiveness, could give any better result.

The Gluecks make the same arithmetical error in calculating the predictive success of character-traits diagnosed by the Rorschach technique and by psychiatric interview. The true predictive probability of the Rorschach in the 3-class score was 13.6 per cent. and not 87.9 per cent.; of the psychiatric interview 12.5 per cent. and not 87.4 per cent. Further disadvantages of these two methods, if indeed any more need be adduced, is that each necessitates an hour's interview with the child, and in the case of the Rorschach six hours of interpretative treatment of the result.

Durea (1938) submitted 316 juvenile offenders in a correctional institution to the Pressey 'Interest-Attitude' Test, consisting of four batteries each of 90 items. Although he refers to the 360 items as so many 'personality-traits', three-fourths of them seem to be culturally induced attitudes. Summing up the predictive value of the test for severity of delinquency, he claims rather misleadingly that '90 per cent. of the low D.I.'s (least severely delinquent) fall below the differential weighted score of about 27, while 90 per cent. of the high D.I.'s exceed a differential weighted score of 16.' In other words it is only the extremes which are reliably predicted, and there is a wide area of indeterminacy between the scores of 16 and 27. It can, however, be calculated from his data that if a score of 23 is taken as evidently the best predictive criterion, 44 per cent. of the least severe delinquent group will be above it, that is, wrongly predicted, and 13 per cent. of the most severe delinquent group will be below it. Moreover, these two groups are themselves extremes, and together only cover about two-fifths of the range, so that no prediction is forthcoming for the majority.

Zakolski (1949a) applied 10 different personality inventories to groups of industrial-school delinquents and non-delinquent controls, but found that the standard methodology of these instruments, that of inferring 'personality-traits' from answers provided by the subjects, yielded contradictory results. For example, one or other of the inventories revealed no significant differences between the delinquent and non-delinquent groups in regard to the traits of 'happiness, sense of personal worth, impulsiveness, judgment, behavioural immaturity, mental health assets, quality of outlook and goals, feeling of belonging.' On the other hand 6 traits showing statistically significant differences were unacceptable as being in flagrant contradiction with clinical and general observations. These traits showed the delinquents to be superior in personal responsibility, emotional adjustment, having satisfying work and recreations, having better family and community relations, and in having fewer neurotic tendencies. Of the 17 'personality-traits' which emerged as significantly different in one or more of the 10 inventories, 8 were at variance with similar traits in others; but the ill-defined nature of the 'traits', viz., 'mental health liabilities, neurotic tendency, social skills', makes it difficult to know if the underlying attitudes are comparable, and renders the concept of 'trait' of little value for the objective assessment demanded in a predictive procedure.

As a result of this study Zakolski (1949b) abandoned the use of 'traits': from the 1,385 items in the 10 inventories he chose the 240 which had proved the most highly differentiating, and weighted them for scoring accordingly. Applying these to groups of 300 boys in industrial schools and 300 non-delinquents in a day secondary school he found that the scores differentiated

the groups sharply. Above what he aptly termed the 'upper Plimsoll mark' of 327, which was the mean for the delinquents, were 61.1 per cent. of these but no non-delinquents; below the 'lower Plimsoll mark' of 126.2, the mean for the non-delinquents, were 58.2 per cent. of these but no delinquents. A score of above 250 would have picked out 70.6 per cent. of the delinquents but only 2.8 per cent. of the non-delinquents. But these striking results were obtained, first, by comparing a group of severely delinquent boys (recidivists in an industrial school) with a group of non-delinquents; and, second, by eliminating in advance from the latter all 'problem children', that is, those who were 'overtly maladjusted'. The comparison was therefore with a selected group of stable boys, which makes the enquiry circular, since the variable of personality differences was what the battery of test items was intended to explore. To arrive at the true predictive efficiency of the test in detecting delinquents from a random sample of the boy-population, the same kinds of correction would have to be made as Walters did for the Gluecks' figures; again, on the assumption that 2 per cent. of all boys find their way into correctional schools, the highest-score class of the test, the 'above 250', would include 140 non-delinquents to 70.6 delinquents, that is to say, a predictive success-rate of about 1 in 3. If allowance be further made for the possibility that another 2.8 per cent. of a non-delinquent population would be maladjusted (excluded by Zakolski) and therefore high scorers, the predictive rate would be reduced to 1 in 5, or conversely, the test would be wrong 4 times out of 5.

Capwell (1945) and Monachesi (1948) report further studies using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the best known of the type of personality test discussed above. Capwell chose a group of delinquent girls from a correctional institution, and found that a mark higher than that scored by three-quarters of the non-delinquent controls was gained by a majority of the delinquents in all the Minnesota scales except that for 'hysteria'; as many as 93 per cent. of the delinquents exceeded this mark in respect of 'psychopathic deviate', 'paranoid' being the next highest with 84 per cent. Translated into predictive rates, the high scorers in these two scales would consist respectively of 78.5 per cent. and 77 per cent. delinquents. But this once again assumes a population consisting of one-half institutionalized delinquent girls, and since these are only one-tenth as numerous as the corresponding boys, the number of non-delinquent high-scorers would need to be multiplied by about 500 to live the expected proportion in a random population. In such, consequently, only 1 in 125 of the girls scoring highly in the 'psychopathic deviate' scale would be likely to become an institutionalized delinquent. For the other Minnesota scales it would be less.

In Monachesi's study the differences between the mean scores for delinquent and non-delinquent girls were smaller than in Capwell's study, probably because only a minority of his group of delinquents were taken from a correctional school. For the boys, however, the Minnesota scales failed signally to differentiate, 5 of the 9 scales which rate personality actually showing the non-delinquents as the more abnormal. It is therefore evident that the Minnesota Inventory provides no basis for a predictive technique for boy-delinquents and for girls would certainly be inferior to that of Zakolski. One is further tempted to conclude that the methodology of all inventories which ask the subject for information about himself is unsuitable for the objective assessment of personality differences. The reason is probably that, as certainly in the case of the Minnesota, the initial validation was based on groups of institutionalized psychiatric patients, who have not only lost the ability to conform to socially acceptable behavioural norms, but have mostly lost the awareness of this inability. They would consequently tend to answer questions about their own attitudes revealingly, whereas a group of socially functioning behavioural-deviates would know what the social norms are, even if they failed to conform to them.

The review of attempts to predict the onset of delinquency in children emphasizes the need for definition of what is being attempted. It is also clear that two distinct concepts are often confused. The first of these is the efficiency of the criteria set up by the instrument to differentiate between delinquents and non-delinquents from among the demographic population within which the instrument is meant to be used. As seen in the above discussion, if the sizes of the respective samples do not reflect the incidence of delinquents within this population, the numbers in each group who meet the criterion must be adjusted so that they do. The demographically 'true' proportion scoring above any criterion which is found to be delinquent may be termed the *predictive selectivity*. It is evident that the more severe the criterion, the greater its selectivity, since it would cream off only the more abnormal both among the delinquents and within the remainder of the population. In other words, the severe criterion will fail to detect a significant proportion of the delinquents. Selectivity can thus be obtained at the expense of comprehensiveness. It is therefore necessary to define a second concept, that of *predictive range*, as the proportion of delinquents within the population which the criterion will detect.

It is important to distinguish these two ratios as the basic quantitative concepts for prediction studies. The difference between them can be expressed simply thus: selectivity is the proportion of delinquents within any group which a given selecting instrument isolates from a general population; the range is the proportion of the delinquents within the general

population which are included. Thus

$$\text{Selectivity} = \frac{\text{No. of delinquents meeting criterion}}{\text{All cases meeting criterion.}}$$

$$\text{Range} = \frac{\text{No. of delinquents meeting criterion}}{\text{All delinquents in population.}}$$

These two concepts can be illustrated diagrammatically. In Fig. 1 below the area of the square represents a juvenile demographic population and the shaded portion its delinquent section. A random selection would be represented by that part above a horizontal line, S. The lines P₁ and P₂ represent two extreme types of predictive criteria and the areas above and to the left of them the 'catchment' of each. The *selectivity* is the proportion of the catchment which is shaded. The *range* is the proportion of the total shaded area within the catchment. Predictor P₁ has very good selectivity at the expense of poor range. P₂ has a good range at the expense of poor selectivity. Finally, P₃ represents what is probably the best practicable type of predictor, with a selectivity up to the standard of 50 per cent. and a range of about 75 per cent.

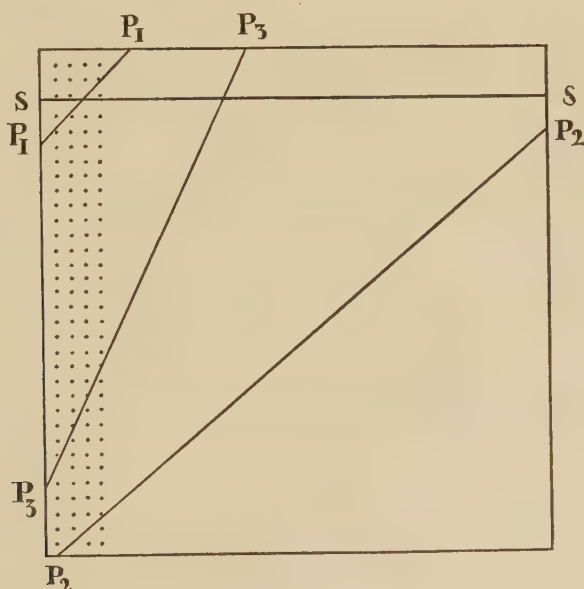


FIG. 1.

The measure of a predictive instrument, consequently, is its ability to offer a criterion which gives the greatest predictive range without lowering the selectivity so much as to make the group adjudged as 'probably delin-

quent' unwieldy. For practical purposes it is probably more important to maximize the predictive range, even at the risk of including a fair number of never-to-be delinquents; for, as suggested below, these non-delinquent high-scorers may be equally in need of social assistance. A predictive selectivity of 50 per cent., that is to say, giving equal numbers of delinquents and non-delinquents who score above the criterion, would be manageable administratively, and so can be taken as the standard. The predictive range which gives about this standard might be termed the *predictive value*.¹

Although Ferguson (1952) in his follow-up study of all Glasgow boys leaving school in 1947, did not attempt to compose a predictive instrument, his data are of value in this connection as showing the bearing of a large number of factors, both sociological and psychological, on delinquency. Of the former, type of housing and the number of persons per room show an incidence three times as high between the least and most favourable conditions. There is evidently a cultural factor only indirectly reflected in these data, for the incidence among families rehoused from slums is nearly as high as among the actual slum-dwellers. The delinquency-rate among under-sized and under-weight boys is about twice that among those of normal physique, but this would seem mostly to reflect unfavourable developmental conditions. Behavioural factors show the greatest difference in delinquency-incidence. It is hard to know what reliance to place upon the head teachers' general assessments of personality, as it is evident that the knowledge of the delinquency of those boys who committed offences while still at school has produced a bias; but those in the lowest class for 'general personality' were delinquent about 5 times as often as those in the highest. Truancy, with an incidence of 39.1 per cent., tops the single factors, and stability of employment shows more than a 5-times difference. In the figures cited, scholastic backwardness shows a more than 4 times greater frequency compared with boys of high attainment, and over twice the average, but the extremely backward—those attending special schools—were excluded by the method of choosing the sample, and these tend to be less delinquent than the backward pupils of ordinary schools. For this and many other reasons school attain-

¹ It will of course be appreciated that the concepts of selectivity and range as defined apply only to the prognosis of delinquency among a population. They can however be adapted to predictive procedures, such as that of Mannheim and Wilkins (1955), which aim at predicting recurrence of delinquency. Selectivity would be represented by the proportion of actual successes and failures within the cases isolated by the respective criteria, and range by the proportion correctly prognosticated within the 'population' in the statistical sense. In the above study it can be calculated from the figures given by the authors that 'selectivity' was 76.8 per cent. and the range 50 per cent. Quoting the actual figures, of the 255 cases of which a prognosis of success or failure could be made, just over three-quarters (192) would behave as forecast; but these 192 only represented one-half of the number upon whom the criteria were applied.

ment is likely to be unreliable as an indication of delinquency-proneness. Ferguson achieves his highest incidences by combining pairs of high-rating factors, such as overcrowding and backwardness, with a 44.4 per cent. probability. But in doing so he unfortunately only quotes percentages, and these could represent very small numbers. In terms of the above predictive concepts, he isolates a group of social and psychological factors which separately have a selectivity (apart from truancy) of between 20 and 28 per cent.; that is to say, between one-fifth and just over a quarter of any group selected would on average be delinquent. The proportion of delinquents within the population (the predictive range) which each criterion would detect would only be moderately greater than the 12.2 per cent. given by random selection, the highest being as follows: slum-dweller 18 per cent., overcrowding to the extent of 4 or more in a room 23 per cent., 8 or more in the family 29 per cent., scholastic backwardness 22 per cent., five or more changes of employer 31 per cent. These are in effect extreme factors which only touch a minority of the total boy population. Moreover, if, as appears likely, the sociological factors are reflections of more fundamental cultural differences, there would be a large overlap in the groups of delinquents which any combination of such factors isolated; consequently, the predictive range would not be appreciably raised thereby.

The study of Bodin (1936) is of interest for the general relationship between delinquency and behaviour disturbance. He examined the incidence of delinquency in a group of children who, at an average age of 14½ years, had been referred to a clinic as 'problems' (defined as those who 'could not be satisfactorily managed in the regular classroom'). At the time of the enquiry all the males were over 21 and the females over 18. During the average interval of eight years since their referral 92.5 per cent. of those for whom information was available (80.2 per cent.) had been charged in court with an offence. Only 10 per cent. of the charges were for traffic and similar petty misdemeanours. However, 50.6 per cent. of the children had a delinquent record before referral; 35 per cent. had shown behaviour disorder between 8 and 13 years. It will be appreciated that maladjustment among adolescents which prompts referral to a clinic is likely to be of a type in which the symptoms are severe, and to have high nuisance-value. Nevertheless, this study suggests that behaviour-disturbance would act as a good prognosticator of delinquency.

The data of the present research relate to behaviour disturbance, but this does not imply that sociological factors are left out of account; nor is it forgotten that a small proportion of delinquent behaviour may be 'cultural' in the sense of not being considered very wrong, or almost being the 'done thing', in certain cultural settings. This modicum of delinquent conduct by

the stable boy is by its nature unpredictable as far as the individual is concerned, for even in a so-called delinquent subculture only a small minority come before the court. The major and more serious sociological and cultural influences seem to operate through psychological channels, by reducing family stability, or by being otherwise inimicable to stable development of the personality. Hence an assessment of the type and degree of instability should indicate not only which children are exposed to unfavourable social and familial environments, but more specifically those who are adversely affected thereby as evidenced by behaviour-disturbance. Of such disturbance delinquency may be only one of the symptoms. Furthermore, because psychological soundings are taken at a later stage in the causative process, they are likely to be of higher predictive value than the exploration of the broad cultural matrix of delinquency.

The data of the present study are taken from a survey of the social adjustment of 415 Glasgow boys, aged 8 to 15, who were put on probation for the first time during 1957, this amounting to 82 per cent. of the total for that year. They were matched with 404 controls, these being non-delinquent boys in the same schools of as nearly as possible the same birth-date. When there were two or more boys born on the same day as the probationer, or an equal number of days away, the one whose name was alphabetically higher was chosen. There was thus no scope for choice by the head teacher.

The Bristol Social Adjustment Guide (Stott and Sykes 1956, Stott 1958), was completed in respect of each probationer and control by the class teachers concerned. This instrument contains 161 items indicative of behaviour disturbance and 49 indicative of stability. These are limited to objectively observable behaviour, and emotionally expressive communication such as is generally found among the social animals. In no case is the observer asked to make any interpretation beyond this common mammalian level, and the items are scrambled so that no serial arrangement can be discerned. It will be noted that no self-rating by the boys themselves was involved, and indeed both they and the controls were quite unaware that any data were being collected in respect of them. Moreover, these data were concrete and standardized descriptions of behaviour in prescribed situations and towards prescribed people, and were consequently far removed from ratings for so-called 'traits'. Following the procedure for this psychological instrument, the items marked were coded on a diagnostic form by placing a transparent key over the schedule. The adverse items are thus sorted into syndromes, or standard maladjusted attitudes, and in most of these they are arranged in ascending order of gravity, based on their relative frequency among maladjusted children compared with stable children.

The relative incidence of behaviour-disturbance as between the proba-

tioners and their controls is shown in the histogram (Fig. 2). In round figures, 23 per cent. of the delinquents came into what we may describe as the 'normal boy' group—with not more than 9 adverse items—compared with 71 per cent. of the controls. In the two grades of unsettled boys the delinquents are in the preponderance. In the maladjusted groups—those with 20 or more adverse items—were found 46 per cent. of the delinquents compared with 8 per cent. of the controls.

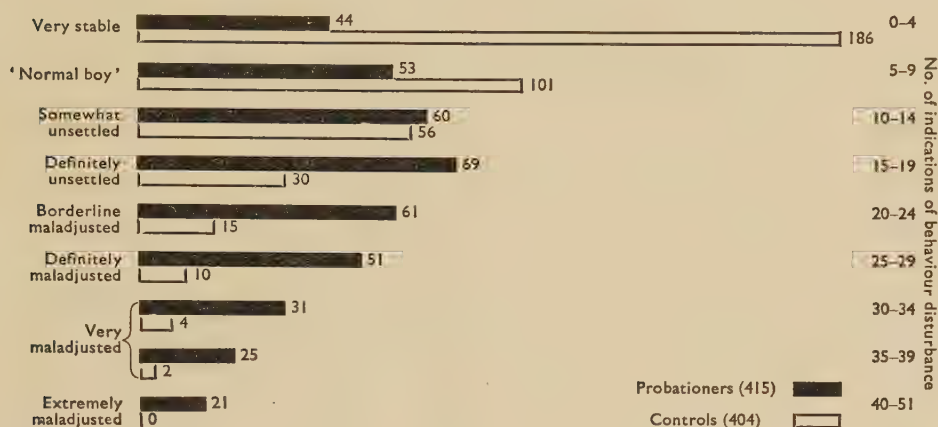


FIG. 2.

Striking as these differences are, they are still insufficiently discriminating as delinquency-predictors. In any annual sample of males aged 8 to 16 there are several times as many non-delinquents as delinquents, so that the mere 8 per cent. of the maladjusted controls represent a considerable number of maladjusted but non-delinquent boys within the population as a whole. An estimate of the number of maladjusted boys among all offenders against property and the person within a year-group can be obtained by adjusting the probationer sample to 100 per cent. and multiplying by 3 (about one-third of such offenders being put on probation). This assumes that the incidence of maladjustment would be about the same for those not selected for probation. In a small study by French (1958), using the same technique as described above for the assessment of social adjustment, of a group of boys convicted of 'vandalism' (petty damage to property) only 7 of the 30 were put on probation, and the mean score for maladjustment among the 23 who were not was actually higher than for the present group of probationers. Also, the procedure for dealing with boys charged with offences in Glasgow hardly allows time for the collection of the information needed to decide which cases should be awarded probation, the figure of one-third being an

administrative 'ceiling' determined by the size of the probation staff. An estimate of the number of maladjusted non-delinquents may be obtained by multiplying the numbers within the controls by 19.7. The respective estimates are given in Table 1.

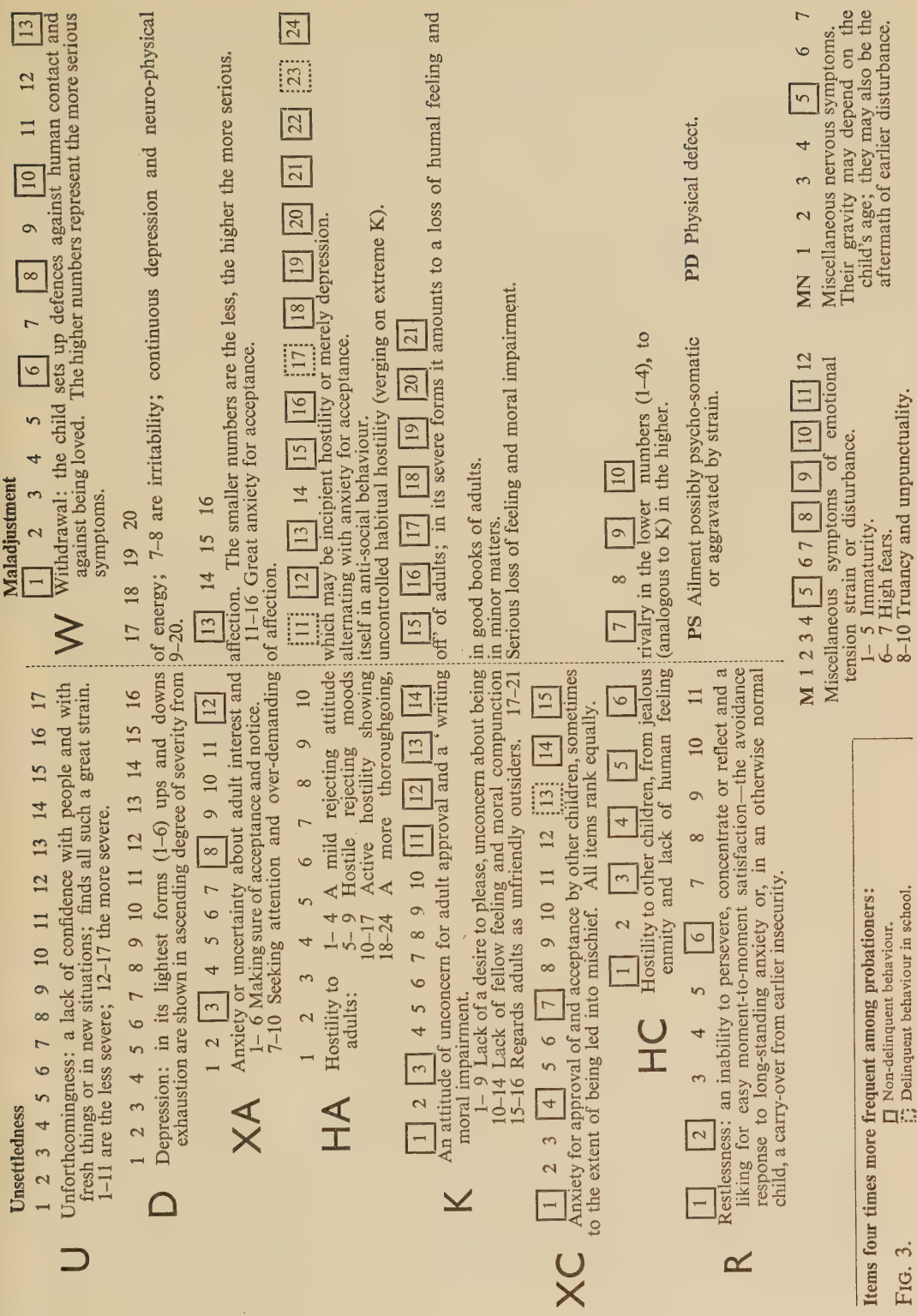
TABLE 1

Maladjusted Boys in a Year-Group in Glasgow

<i>Delinquent (Estimated Mean for all Year-Groups 8-16 Years)</i>	<i>Non-delinquent</i>
Number: 726	615
As percentage of all maladjusted in year-group: 54.2	45.8

In short, the selectivity of a rough-and-ready measure of maladjustment—20 or more adverse items on the schedule—will be some 54 per cent., but it will have a predictive range of only 46 per cent. of all delinquents within an average year-group (this being the proportion scoring 20 or more, as quoted above). Among the 46 per cent. apparently non-delinquent who will also be included some will be undetected and some future delinquents. The control group only represented a cross-section sample of non-delinquent boys at the ages at which other boys had committed offences, and many had not reached the peak age. Because of this, the present survey tends to under-estimate the association between maladjustment and delinquency. Nevertheless, it can serve as the basis for comparative estimates of various predictive procedures. The question of the hidden delinquency-content of the controls is examined more fully below.

The chief defect of a global maladjustment score as a predictive device is that it embraces types of behaviour-disturbance not highly associated with delinquency, and it could not be assumed that in the case of those types which are so, the association held at all degrees of severity. The most accurate method, therefore, would be based on the relative frequency of each of the 161 adverse items among the probationers and controls. It was found that the frequency of some items, notably in the series named 'unforthcomingness', was nearly a 1 to 1 ratio; that of a few others was 30 to 1 or more; 21 items were 8 times more frequent among the probationers, and 54 were 4 times. These 54 items were marked on a second key to fit the Diagnostic Form, and this was used to give every probationer and control a delinquency-predictor score.



Items four times more frequent among probationers:
 □ Non-delinquent behaviour.
 ▤ Delinquent behaviour in school.

FIG. 3.

How these indicators of delinquency-proneness were distributed among the syndromes of behaviour-disturbance is shown in Fig. 3. The items which occurred 4 or more times more frequently among the probationers compared with the controls are framed. The dotted frames represent delinquent behaviour within the school, and were left out of the scoring, since in a test of the association of other behaviour with delinquency their inclusion would have been circular. They are shown here in order to bring out the predictive value of the more severe end of the 'Hostility-to-Adults' scale, and they could be included in a predictive instrument. The 'K' series, that of rejection of adult relationships, is even better, the whole of the upper half being included. An interesting feature is the 8 out of 10 items in the 'Hostility-to-Children' series. These children would be the probationers' schoolmates; this disposes of the sociological argument that delinquency is a form of protest against the dominant culture, as represented in the teacher, by the under-privileged.

The items 4 times more frequent, which we may call delinquency-pointers, naturally have higher predictive value than the raw maladjustment scores. Table 2 shows the estimated numbers of Glasgow boys for each value of these pointers, with the percentage at each score, who would be delinquent or otherwise if the incidence within the probationer- and control-groups is representative.

TABLE 2

<i>Delinquency-pointers</i>	<i>Non-delinquents</i>			<i>Delinquents</i>		
0	5,032 .	.	95%	250 .	.	5%
1	1,356 .	.	89%	165 .	.	11%
2	511 .	.	65%	180 .	.	35%
3	374 .	.	76%	119 .	.	24%
4	216 .	.	71%	88 .	.	29%
5	118 .	.	51%	115 .	.	49%
6	138 .	.	55%	115 .	.	45%
7-10	157 .	.	32%	330 .	.	68%
11-28	78 .	.	24%	238 .	.	76%

It is seen that at 0 the preponderance of the non-delinquents is overwhelming, in fact over 95 per cent. to less than 5 per cent.; while from 7 and above the delinquents become the absolute majority for each score. Just where the line is drawn in any predictive procedure depends upon what proportion of future delinquents it is hoped to identify, and what number of non-delinquent maladjusts can be included without swamping the administrative and clinical facilities. The natural dividing line would fall between those scoring 1 and 2 pointers, with the jump from 11 to 35 per cent. But, as is seen in Table 3, this would mean including nearly 1,600 non-delinquents.

If, on the other hand, only 5 pointers or more are taken notice of, the selectivity will be very high—less than 500 non-delinquents will be included—but half the delinquents will be lost.

TABLE 3

*Estimated Mean Incidence in Glasgow Age-Groups
of Detectable Delinquency Proneness*

<i>Pointers 4 times More Frequent</i>	<i>All Offenders</i>		<i>Non-delinquents</i>		
	<i>Number Detected</i>	<i>Range: % of Total</i>	<i>Number Included</i>	<i>% of Total Included</i>	<i>Selectivity %</i>
2 or over	1,185	74.4	1,592	18.2	42.67
5 or over	799	49.8	491	5.6	61.93
<i>Pointers 4 times plus 8 times more frequent</i>					
2 or over	960	60.0	1,000	11.5	47.86

If we make the further refinement of doubling the weight of the pointers occurring 8 or more times more frequently among the probationers, the predictive range—percentage of delinquents spotted—is reduced from 74 to 60, but the percentage of non-delinquents falls from 18 per cent. to 12 per cent., and the numbers of delinquents and non-delinquents—960 to 1,000—are nearly equal. This reduces the bulk to more manageable proportions for a preventive service, but an appreciable proportion of the potential delinquents would be lost in return for a mere 5 per cent. increase in selectivity.

There is, moreover, good reason for including a quota of the non-delinquents. The control-group was a cross-section of boys of ages 8 to 15, and, as mentioned, must have contained a number of future delinquents. It is, indeed, possible to estimate roughly their number for each age-group within the, as yet, non-delinquent boy population. Provided the annual delinquency rate remains approximately constant, it is for any year-group the total who become delinquent in any one year in all older age-groups combined. Thus in a group of 16-year-olds there would be very few, because nearly all those who were going to become delinquent would already have done so. By the end of the 12th year about half the potential would be realized, namely, for Glasgow, some 800. At the end of the 10th year it would be between 1,200 and 1,300. It is seen that these figures are of about the same order as those of the non-delinquent maladjusted boys which would be included in the prediction, numbering from 1,000 to 1,500 according to which set of delinquency pointers were used. Of course, it cannot be said that they would be the same children, because 30 per cent. of the probationers

would have evaded these particular predictive criteria, and 23 per cent. of the 1957 group were of reasonably stable personality. Thus we are left with an estimate that within an age-group of 10-year-olds we could expect to have some 900 maladjusted children who would be likely to become delinquent. Predictive criteria which pick out 1,200 to 1,300 maladjusted delinquency-prone would seem to be of about the right degree of selectivity for administrative purposes. It would mean that we should have a 33-40 per cent. margin of maladjusted boys who might have, but do not, become delinquent, or who do, but are not caught. It would not be a waste of time to submit them to the general prophylactic procedure.

Such estimates are approximate, and depend upon the relative constancy of certain factors. One of these is the proportion of maladjusted boys in each age-group. In effect there seems to be surprisingly little variation. Among the probationer and control samples combined, the proportions of stable boys under and over 12 years of age—that is to say, the Scottish age of passing from primary to secondary schooling, were 51 per cent. and 48 per cent. respectively, the proportions of maladjusted 23 per cent. and 24 per cent. Among the controls alone there were not enough maladjusted for a reliable estimate, there being only 6 among the 132 primary boys, making $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. compared with 9 per cent. among the secondary. The primary age-groups were slightly more stable, at 77 per cent., compared with 69 per cent. among the secondary. Thus there is a slight tendency for boys over 12 years of age to be less well adjusted, and this probably reflects the proverbial unsettledness of adolescence, but it is less than might have been thought.

The validity of any predictive device based on non-delinquent behaviour depends also upon the assumption that the critical symptoms are observable prior to the onset of the delinquency. There are good general reasons for supposing this is so in the great majority of cases, knowing what we do about the genesis of maladjustment during the earlier childhood, and the tendency of maladjustment-producing family-situations to be long-standing. Also, the concentration of the delinquency-predictors at the more severe ends of certain syndromes of maladjustment, as seen in Fig. 3, tends to confirm the impression that much delinquency is a breakdown-symptom occurring when the maladjusted attitude has reached an acute stage. The findings of the Glueck's (1950, 1952) as to the priority of behaviour-disturbance are also relevant. In their sample the average age of first delinquency was 12.4 years, but nearly half had shown evidence of maladjustment before their 8th year, and 88 per cent. before their 11th year. The average age of the onset of anti-social behaviour was 8.3 years. These children were recidivists in a correctional school, and the enquiry about behaviour-disturbance was retrospec-

tive; it nevertheless affords some grounds for supposing that disturbed behaviour of certain types can be used for the singling out and preventive treatment of the delinquency-prone.

The final validity of any predictive instrument must of course be established by a prospective study, in which a group of delinquency-prone children are identified and the incidence of their eventual delinquency noted. The psychological instrument used in this study takes the teacher 10–15 minutes to complete in respect of one child. This is a considerable improvement upon the hour needed for psychiatric interview or the Rorschach, but for some three-quarters of them—the stable children—even this would be a waste of time. However, these can be eliminated by a very simple preliminary sorting device, which requires half a minute or less per child. The teacher would merely have to indicate ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to six questions framed so as to cover broadly the field of delinquency-prone behaviour-disturbance. If the answer to any one is affirmative the more thorough schedule of the full Social Adjustment Guide would be used.

SUMMARY

A study of the amount of behaviour-disturbance, apart from their delinquency, was made among Glasgow boys put on probation during 1957. This provided the basis for an eventual predictive technique. If a minimum ‘maladjustment’ score of 20 adverse markings on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides were used, 46 per cent. of the probationers would have been spotted. But since certain types of behaviour-disturbance are not closely associated with delinquency such a predictive criterion would be imprecise. Accordingly, all those behavioural items occurring 4 times more frequently among the probationers than among controls of the same age were selected as ‘delinquency predictors’. It was estimated that these would detect three-quarters of the boy offenders.

Reasons were given for the underlying assumption that symptoms of behaviour disturbance generally manifest themselves prior to the onset of delinquency. It was also shown that the incidence of maladjustment was about the same among younger and older boys; among the controls alone the adolescent groups were slightly more unsettled, but less so than might have been expected.

The end of the 10th year seemed statistically a suitable age at which to apply a predictive procedure; nevertheless the Gluecks’ work indicates that as early as 8 years may be advisable. It was suggested, for administrative convenience and to relieve the burden of work on teachers, that six simple questions, covering broadly the types of maladjustment most associated with delinquency, should be used as a preliminary combing-out procedure among

a general school-population. Any child getting one or more adverse answers would be assessed by the full schedule of the Bristol Guide.

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DELINQUENCY POTENTIAL OF PRE-ADOLESCENTS IN HIGH-DELINQUENCY AREAS¹

By JON E. SIMPSON, SIMON DINITZ, BARBARA KAY, AND
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This paper reports the findings of research that has examined the variations in delinquency potential for a sample population of 400 sixth-grade (12-year-old) pupils attending schools in poor socio-economic and high-delinquency areas in Columbus, Ohio (U.S.A.). The purpose of the investigation was to determine whether in an urban slum environment it is possible to specify the differential risks of 12-year-old children for becoming involved in future delinquency.

A structured schedule was administered by one member of the research team in the classroom to all the pupils present in each of 17 sixth-grade rooms in 8 schools. The schedule was composed of social background items, the delinquency vulnerability (DE) and social responsibility (RE) scales from the Gough California Psychological Inventory, both of which when combined provided a delinquency proneness (DP) index,² and a series of

¹ The data upon which this paper is based are taken from a thesis by Jon E. Simpson, 'Categoric Risks in Potential Delinquency and Potential Non-Delinquency,' Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University, March 1958. This Master's thesis was part of a larger study of sixth-grade children in Columbus, Ohio, conducted by Dr. Walter C. Reckless and Dr. Simon Dinitz, supported by grants from the Ohio State Development Fund, and focused upon the prediction of delinquency in terms of the self-concepts of the children. See Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz and Barbara Kay, 'The Self Component in Potential Delinquency and Potential Non-Delinquency,' *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22 (October 1957), pp. 566-70, and Simon Dinitz, Barbara Kay and Walter C. Reckless, 'Delinquency Proneness and School Achievement,' *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 36 (April 1957), pp. 131-36.

² The DE scale is now called the socialization (SO) scale. The same items are used, but the scoring is reversed. When the SO scale was called the DE scale, the higher scores represented veering towards delinquency or poor socialization; and the low scores represented veering away from delinquency or high socialization. By arrangement with Dr. Harrison G. Gough, of the Department of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley, California, we eliminated 8 from the 54 DE scale items because we were dealing with very young adolescents and these items were primarily adult-slanted. We have used a correction factor for the 46 of the 54 items that compose the DE (SO) scale in the California Psychological Inventory (CPI).

The DE scale measures a veering toward delinquency, while the RE scale measures a steering away from delinquency. The net difference may be taken as the delinquency potential or delinquency proneness (DE score plus 100 minus the RE score), suggested by Dr. Gough for this study. See Harrison G. Gough, 'A Sociological Theory of Psychology,' *American Journal of Sociology* (March, 1948), pp. 359-66; and 'Systematic Validation of a Test for Delinquency,' paper read at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, September, 1954; and Harrison G. Gough and Donald Peterson, 'The Identification and Measurement of Predispositional Factors in Crime and Delinquency,' *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, Vol. 16 (June 1952), pp. 207-12.

questions constructed to obtain the respondent's perceptions of self with respect to friends, school, legal agencies, and family.

While the pupils were completing the schedule, each of the 17 teachers was interviewed by a second member of the research team elsewhere in the building, in order to obtain their judgments concerning the likelihood of each of their pupils becoming involved with legal agencies in the future. More specifically, the teachers were requested to place all their students into one of three categories: those who very probably would not experience future difficulties with the law; those who very probably would have such contact; and those about whom they had some doubts either way. Previous studies comparing teacher nominations with court records and scores on the Gough instruments have shown that teachers can very competently judge the delinquency potential of their students.

RESULTS

Delinquency Proneness Indices. An analysis of the three delinquency proneness scores revealed that the 200 females scored significantly lower than did the 200 males on the delinquency vulnerability (DE) scale (19.23 vs. 22.31),³ higher on the social responsibility (RE) scale (24.62 vs. 21.53), and lower on the composite delinquency proneness (DP) index (94.67 vs. 100.83). The variations between the mean scores of the 171 whites and 229 negroes were also significantly different, the mean scores for the white children being in the direction of less delinquency potential. But the magnitude of the differences between the mean scores on the DE, RE, and DP scales for boys and girls was consistently greater than the magnitude of the differences of the mean scores on the same tests for whites and negroes, with the one exception, namely that the variations between the mean scores were greater for the white female and negro female comparison than between the negro female and negro male subgroups.

The cumulative effect of sex and race resulted in significant mean score differences between white females and negro males (DE: 17.44 vs. 23.09; RE: 26.76 vs. 20.59; and DP: 90.68 vs. 102.50) that were approximately twice as great as were found for the comparisons utilizing only a single variable, i.e., male female or white-negro. The addition of the third variable, namely teacher nomination of each pupil (to stay away from trouble with

³ For example, on the DE scale, Dr. Gough's norms show that a mean score up around 26 characterizes known delinquent and criminal samples, while mean scores down around 16 apply to 'good citizen', non-delinquent groups. On the same scale, scores in the opposite direction, which Gough now calls the SO scale, mean scores down around 28 characterize the delinquent and criminal samples, while mean scores up around 38 apply to the good person samples. See also first part of footnote 1. The higher mean scores on the RE scale signify the veering of a sample group toward dependability while the lower mean scores indicate a veering toward less dependability.

the law, to get involved, or not sure), produce three-way groupings (subgroups based on race, sex, and teacher nomination) and magnifies still further the mean variances of the two expectedly extreme subgroups, namely the *white female good* (the nomination by the teacher for the child's staying out of trouble) and the *negro male bad* (the nomination for getting into trouble or not sure). These subgroups have the following mean scores respectively (whose differences are significant at better than the 0.01 level of confidence): on the DE, 16.85 vs. 25.45; RE, 27.04, 19.24; DP, 89.01, 106.20.

Self-Concept Variations. The schedule which was administered to the sixth-grade (12-year) children contained social background items, 46 DE items, 38 RE items, and 62 self-concept items; 52 of the 62 self-concept items (law, friends, school, family) were used in this study. By comparing the percentage of replies in the direction of a non-delinquent concept of self, it was quite evident that the females and whites, as contrasted with the males and negroes respectively, expressed a more socially acceptable self-image. Although the differences in responses between the two sexes and races were not statistically significant for a majority of the items, the overall trend was definitely in the expected direction. Thus, the females and whites, much more than males and negroes, did not themselves expect and did not think others expected that they would get into difficulty with the law or be taken to juvenile court or jail. The females and the whites, again much more than the males and negroes, considered their friends to be law-abiding and said they would discontinue a friendship if it meant being led into trouble. In addition to believing that they could derive benefits from school, they planned to complete high school. They did not believe that the expression, 'a wise guy', was appropriate with respect to themselves and they characterized their own behaviour as quiet rather than active. (All this in terms of significantly more for females and whites than for males and negroes.)

The negative responses of the negro females and, to a lesser extent, of the white females, to questions concerning evaluation of parents and family, served to reverse the previous relationship between the females and males, so that for the family items the boys expressed more socially appropriate concepts of self than did the girls.

The female-male comparison (i.e., a single independent variable comparison) revealed significant differences for only 14 self-concept items. When white females and negro males (i.e., subgroups based on two independent variables) were contrasted, the percentage of answers in the direction of delinquency was significantly different for 19 self-concept items. When teacher nomination was added to make a string of three independent variables, the variations in responses in the direction of delinquency for 21 self-concept items were found to be significant for the comparison between

the subgroups *white female good* and *negro male bad*. Even more important is the comparative magnitude of the variations that occurred with the testing of the cumulative effect of the three variables in relation to the one or two independent variable contrasts.

This pattern of increasing divergence between subgroups can be illustrated by examination of the replies to one question that was constructed to determine whether the pupil felt that the teacher thought he would get into trouble with the law in the future. The question read, 'Do you think your teacher thinks you will ever get into trouble with the law?' The percentage difference between the whites (21.43) and the negroes (25.78) who replied with an affirmative answer was not significant. However, the 16.89 percentage points discrepancy between the males (32.47) and females (15.58) answering yes was significant at the 0.01 level. The difference increased to 22.65 percentage points when the white females (9.76) and the negro males (32.41) were compared, and to 43.47 percentage points between the white female 'good' (9.72) and negro male 'bad' respondents (53.19).

DISCUSSION

The above findings indicate that, even in an urban American slum environment of the type from which the sample population was drawn, there is a differential potential for children becoming involved in future delinquency. The instruments used in the study are apparently sufficiently sensitive to provide a means for determining this potential at the age of 12. Apparently, the most satisfactory explanation to account for the variations in delinquency potential is to say that the socialization process has had a differential impact on the children in the various subgroups.⁴ Socialization impact is thought of as a residue of the individual's experiences within a socio-cultural milieu and his relationships with others.

Favourable or unfavourable showing on the Gough DE test (which tests socialization and a veering away or toward delinquency) and on the Gough RE test (which tests social responsibility), in itself, can be assumed to be the current residue of favourable or unfavourable socialization impact. The child's self-concepts, that is, his good or bad projections about himself, his friends, his family, his school, also can be assumed to be an internalization of favourable or unfavourable socialization impact. In most cultures of the

⁴ This confirms the similar hypothesis and conclusions adopted in the paper, 'Group Gradients in Delinquency Potential and Achievement Scores of Sixth-Graders,' by Simon Dinitz, Barbara Ann Kay, and Walter C. Reckless, the *American Journal of Ortho-Psychiatry*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, July, 1958, pp. 598-605. In this paper the three delinquency indicators and the three school achievement indicators were analysed for 717 sixth-graders in 24 sixth-grade rooms in 11 schools: the present sample of 400 representing children living in high-delinquency areas and the remaining 317 representing children residing in better neighbourhoods of Columbus, Ohio.

world, we would expect the females to receive a more favourable socialization impact and to internalize this impact better than the males. Likewise, where minority groups exist, which have a relatively weak family, economic, and political base, we should also expect that the children and adults of these minorities would receive a more unfavourable socialization impact than the members of the dominant groups and would show an internalization of this more unfavourable impact. The negro in the United States happens to be an historically disadvantaged minority but probably not as disadvantaged as certain caste, nationality, linguistic, and religious minorities in several parts of the world.

Consequently, our findings appear to go in the expected directions. We expect the female child of the dominant group to show much less delinquency potential than the male child of a weak minority group. We think this is in line with the way the socialization process works. When we add a third factor, the teacher's nomination (for whatever strengths or weaknesses in the growing up process it may symbolize), we magnify the expectation of insulation against or potential for delinquency. While we have merely dealt with the 12-year-old children in the high-delinquency, slum areas, we have results which show that a fourth factor (namely, living in and growing up in a good or bad neighbourhood) exaggerates the insulation or potential still further, which is also what we would expect. (See the article in footnote 4.)

If socialization and self-concept of children at the threshold age of adolescence and serious delinquency vary in expected directions according to sex, minority status, teacher nomination, and type of neighbourhood, more or less by the accidental social process of growing up, it might be a good idea for the school teacher to find effective ways of implanting a better concept of self in vulnerable children. Building in a better concept of self, which can result from the impact of understanding, resourceful probation officers, housemasters, and after-care workers, is undoubtedly the best form of correctional treatment. The operational theory is that, barring seriously disturbed and distorted personalities, a favourable concept of self, friends, family, and institutions can act as an insulating agent against delinquency and can override the pressures of adversity, unrest, bad neighbourhoods, and pervading delinquency patterns. In treatment and prevention, the vulnerable child receives new models of self, new interpretations of life, new values, new base lines of conduct from significant 'others', who have successfully reached him.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

THE TREATMENT OF YOUNG OFFENDERS

*Report of the Home Office Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders,
October 1959. (London: H.M.S.O., 28 pp. 1s. 9d.)*

I

Following the publication of 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' in February 1959, the Advisory Council was asked by the Home Secretary to consider in more detail the proposed changes in the sentencing and institutional treatment of young offenders.

The most important recommendations which have been endorsed by the Advisory Council are that the Young Persons Prisons and the Borstal system be merged and used in conjunction with an indeterminate sentence with a lower maximum and minimum than at present applies to Borstal trainees, i.e. six months to two years as opposed to nine months to three years. Further the Detention Centre system is to be developed with two fixed sentences of three months and six months.

This merger will have considerable value in that it will enable a more constructive course to be taken with those youngsters who at present get short prison sentences. Sentences of three years and over for serious crimes should, the Council argue, remain, together with imprisonment in default of payment of fines. But clearly much will depend on the development of the Detention Centres in the immediate future, and their critics will no doubt watch them with interest. The stereotype of the 'short, sharp shock' is now fairly well ingrained in the minds of some courts, and it remains to be seen how far those courts which have been precluded under the terms of the Criminal Justice Act from imprisoning young offenders will begin to make a larger number of committals to Detention Centres. The after-care situation had for long been a major weakness, and it was as well that the Court of Criminal Appeal last year brought to an end the clumsy expedient of making simultaneous Detention Centre and probation orders in cases where two offences had been (conveniently) committed. The estimate of only twenty-four new probation officers required to deal with the increased volume of work seems extraordinarily low, and no basis for it is given in the Report.

The success or failure of the new proposals will depend upon the amount and quality of information at the disposal of the courts at the time of the sentence, and unless the Remand Centres envisaged under the 1948 Act are immediately forthcoming it is difficult to see how the new arrangements are going to work. It seems strange that the Council should not have appreciated this fact to the extent of stressing their provision as a top priority.

The Report is worthy of detailed study, and there are a number of issues which are treated as if there were complete agreement about them already, e.g. the principle of the indeterminate sentence. At the same time there is a good deal of reference to public opinion lest it should feel that the new proposals savour too much of 'leniency'.

Although the abolition of imprisonment for persons under 21 will, if these proposals are adopted, be brought a step nearer, there is no evidence in the Report

to suggest that the total abolition of imprisonment for this age group is regarded as an ultimate goal by the Advisory Council or the Home Office. This is particularly clear in the discussion of the rôle of imprisonment in relation to the non-payment of fines. There is a strong case for excluding from prison all classes of debtor, juveniles as well as defaulting husbands, if the modern prison is to play a primarily re-educative rather than punitive rôle.

TERENCE MORRIS.

II

A Note on Paragraph 17

In some ways paragraph 17 is the most striking in the whole report, not for the strength of its argument, but for the fact that it is there at all. It is in effect an apologia for endorsing proposals not backed by research. Most research workers will reject the argument as rather feeble; nevertheless, the report is one of the first official documents to take up a defensive attitude even before critics have had time to raise their voices. Ten, or even five years ago, such an apology would have been most unlikely to have appeared; that it has done so now is both a mark of achievement and a challenge to those who believe that the social sciences should not be merely social but scientific too.

The defence is that the principles underlying the proposals, namely that treatment should keep young offenders out of prison and achieve the maximum reform, are sound and 'would not be affected by the results of further research into the effects of different methods of treatment.' This, however, is not self-evident; 45 per cent. of Borstal boys released in 1957 had been reconvicted by the end of the following year, while the corresponding figure for young prisoners was only 34 per cent. Even if the groups were not entirely comparable, one cannot but wonder whether such a sweeping change should have been introduced without either an adequate evaluation of the results obtained under the present system or, on the other hand, a genuine experiment. Evidently we still have some way to go before Parliament accepts the logical view that policymaking should be guided by a scientific evaluation of the results achieved by different methods of treatment. Finally, what is the cost of the marginal improvement likely to be?

J. P. MARTIN.

III

The Indeterminate Sentence

The Report recommends the extension of the indeterminate sentence to all groups of young offenders thought by the courts to need a period of detention of more than six months but not more than two years, and it sees 'no objection to its proposed extension' (para. 13). Many objections can be levelled at this type of sentence; only some of them can be discussed here.

It has been suggested that the effect on the inmate of not knowing the length of his sentence is poor, and as a result his response to the institutional régime is unsatisfactory. In part this criticism can be overcome by suggesting that the maximum length of sentence is clearly stated, and release before that date depends upon the response to training. Providing a clear statement is made by the institu-

tional staff as to what 'training' is about, and what a 'favourable response' to it is, it can be argued that the inmate's uncertainty is minimized.

A second criticism of the indeterminate sentence is that it is an inroad into the court's discretion in that the actual length of sentence is determined, not by the court, but by the training institution. Moreover, this type of sentence is dangerous in that the normal safeguards of due process, publicity and the right to appeal, which the offender has in the courts, are denied to him in the training institutions. Release is decided by the institutional staff, who are guided by their insights into the individual, their assessments of his character and capacities, and their views of his chances of success when released. The decision is taken in private, no regulations govern it, there is no publicity or appeal. The inmate depends upon the integrity of the staff for his safeguards; he has no other means of protecting his interest.

One way of meeting this criticism is the suggestion that this type of sentence is necessary if institutions are to train, treat or reform their inmates. If the aim of our penal institutions is to reform criminals and delinquents, then an indeterminate sentence is essential. The weakness with this argument is that, although the penal system may be concerned with training, the judicial system has other considerations. These include the rights of the victim, society in general, and the offender; the court has to consider the justice of a sentence, and the effects of it on the rest of the population and the victim. The crucial point is that the indeterminate sentence makes the judiciary subservient to the needs of the penal system. Although it is reasonable to argue that penal institutions should be concerned with making their inmates better citizens, does it follow from this that the courts should have the same concern in their sentencing policy? The indeterminate sentence is one step in the direction of penal policy and philosophy determining judicial policy: this may be a direction that does not represent justice.

However, the greatest weakness of the indeterminate sentence is not its assumptions about penal and judicial philosophy; in addition to these it assumes that inmates can be and are being trained and educated by existing institutional facilities. Recent articles by Wilkins¹ and by Benson² in this journal have suggested that the assumptions about training in contemporary institutions may well be ill-founded. From this research it might be argued that little training is being done in contemporary institutions, and/or what training is being carried out has little influence on the behaviour of inmates when released.

If the former of these arguments is accepted, very important consequences follow for the indeterminate sentence. This type of sentence assumes that all classes of offenders can be and will be trained in the institution, and the date of release will depend upon the individual's progress with his training. If some groups of inmates are not being trained, discharge for them is a matter of serving their sentence. Let us assume that the institutional population can be divided into three groups: those who settle down quickly in the institution and can be discharged in the minimum period; those who take longer to 'train' and have to serve half the sentence; and those who are discharged only because they have served the maximum sentence. Assume further that the distribution of the

¹ *B.J.D.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, January 1958, p. 201.

² *B.J.D.*, Vol. IX, No. 3, January 1959, p. 142.

population amongst these three groups is a normal one; i.e. the ratio is 1 : 4 : 1. If these assumptions are accepted, at the end of six months the institutional population will be 6 : 24 : 6 (each month the population receives 6 inmates), and because of discharge practice the first group has reached its maximum size. After a year the population will be 6 : 48 : 12, and the middle group has reached its maximum. Six months later it will be 6 : 48 : 18, and this is what it will look like during the remainder of its 'life'. Because of discharge practice implicit in the indeterminate sentence, the inmate population gradually grows in such a way that the individuals who are difficult to train or who refuse to be trained begin to outnumber those inmates who are easy to train. It is reasonable to contend from this that the tone of the institution is established by average or poor training material, i.e. individuals who have continually been refused their release, with the result that it is likely to be hostile to training, the staff, and the system.

From the assumptions made earlier it is inevitable that the institutional population will contain an element that is not being trained (or difficult to train), and this element is likely to dominate the institution on the inmate level. Three solutions are suggested:

- (a) Rigid classification; the limits of this are that within any institution there is still likely to be a 'range' in the training period, and the same process of selective release is likely to begin.
- (b) Continual reclassification of members of an institutional population, who appear to be heading for a period of training longer than the minimum of the institution in which they are being detained. The weakness of this suggestion is that an important aspect in training is the staff-inmate relationship; continual breaking of this relationship would inhibit training.
- (c) Placing much narrower limits upon the range of sentence that can be served, or return to a system under which a flat sentence is served.

ALAN LITTLE.

IV

This Report represents another stage in the recent process of reconsidering the future of the English institutional penal system, a process of which a beginning was made in the White Paper on 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' discussed in our Editorial of April 1959. The new Report, limited to young offenders aged 16 to 21, by and large approves the recommendations of the Prison Commissioners on which that earlier Paper was based. The trends emerging from these two important documents are unmistakably in the direction of giving still greater powers to the Prison Commissioners at the expense of the courts; of extending the scope of the indeterminate sentence, of detention centres and compulsory after-care. All this had to be expected, and—as the present writer has been saying for some fifteen years—for better or worse it is inevitable in the light of wartime and post-war impressions. I am writing 'impressions', because whether these developments will produce the desired results nobody really knows. The Sub-committee appointed by the Advisory Council has obtained evidence from a number of representative organizations and from heads of correctional institutions. The Committee has done no specific research, but as Dr. Martin rightly points out, it is at least a concession to the idea of such research that it is not altogether laughed

out of court but gently put into cold storage. To say that the proposals 'are based on principles which would not be affected by the results of further research' is, of course, as Martin observes, a *petitio principii*; not only our views on the pros and cons of the indeterminate sentence or of after-care, but on other subjects, too, might well be affected by more accurate knowledge. If, to take up one of Dr. Morris's points, research should show that the proposed extension of after-care—highly desirable in itself—should require more than the twenty-four additional probation officers conceded by the Report 'on a purely arithmetical calculation' and if, as not unlikely, the required numbers should not be available, would it be sound policy in spite of this to throw the extra burden on an already greatly overtaxed Probation Service merely for the sake of 'principles' regardless of the results of such research?

What is also slightly disturbing is that the Report fails explicitly to acknowledge the findings of research even in those rare cases where research has actually been done, as, for example, on the question of detention centres and of the most appropriate length of Borstal detention. Where, as on most of the subjects dealt with in the Report, no specific research has so far been done it can be argued in favour of the Report that such research is not only time consuming but difficult to organize because of the lack of adequately trained research workers. In the field of criminological research as with regard to the causes of crime one might say that although economic factors have now receded into the background they still cast their shadows over the contemporary scene. Only if and when the present prosperity has produced an adequate supply of competent research workers shall we be able to quarrel with the point of view expressed in the Report that the introduction of the proposed changes cannot well depend on the availability of knowledge backed by research. Meanwhile, the interesting statistical calculations and consequent recommendations presented by Mr. Little on the subject of the indeterminate sentence might give at least food for thought.

H. M.

THE CRIMINAL STATISTICS, 1958

Cmnd. 746, September 1959

Interest in summits is widespread, and one of those 'little summits' to which we all look forward hopefully is that in the statistics of crime, which, as a now somewhat discredited politician once said in another context, continue 'on and on and on and up and up and up'. The 1958 criminal statistics show another large increase on the previous year. Indictable offences known to the police now stand at 15,752 per million, as against 13,778 per million in 1957, and 6,391 per million in 1930-39. The number of appearances of males leading to a finding of guilt stands at 680 per 100,000 as against 612 in 1957 and 393 in 1938. Even the women and girls, who had only reluctantly followed their menfolk into the dock, went up sharply, from 73 in 1957 to 84 in 1958. No doubt the Street Offences Act will contribute towards an increase in this figure in 1959, since, I understand, its passing was rapidly followed by an increase in receptions into prison.

Once again, also, the 17-21 age group plays a prominent part showing on the

male side an increase from 1,555 to 1,974 per 100,000 in appearances leading to a finding of guilt, and an increase from 182 to 221 on the female side. The boys have even managed to record an increase in the grouping of sexual offences, although the total number of these offences has declined slightly.

An interesting sidelight on the statistics in the grouping of sexual offences is the rapid increase in recent years of the offence of unlawful intercourse with a girl of 13 but under 16. Present trends in marriage and maturation ages makes one wonder whether this offence ought to be changed in some way. Is there really any point in bringing these cases to the higher courts when in 1958, of 456 found guilty, 130 were given a conditional discharge, 98 put on probation, 49 fined and 34 were imprisoned for six months or less? The situation in respect of this offence seems analogous to that of gross indecency between males which the Wolfenden Committee recommended should, with the consent of the accused, be triable summarily. Indeed, to broaden the point, it is thought in some quarters that the higher courts might well be relieved of a good many breaking and entering cases which are similarly within their ambit. Perhaps the time is now ripe for one more of those measures which transfer cases from higher to lower courts. On the other hand the reform of the administration of the higher courts, now under consideration, could make them more capable of bearing the burden, although not necessarily the best judicial level for cases of these types.

The percentage of crimes cleared up has also fallen again, and now stands at 45.6 per cent. as against 47.2 per cent. in 1957. At the present level of crimes known to the police 1 per cent. represents about 6,000 crimes. It cannot but give some cause for concern that the police do not appear to be holding their own in their contest with the criminal. It is difficult to believe that this consistent downward trend is due to changes in recording.

In view of the passing of the Homicide Act, 1957, special interest attaches to the murder rate. In 1958 the number of murders known to the police was 137 as against 166 in 1957. The Act itself leads to the exclusion of some cases which previously would be counted as murder, but it is quite clear that there is a considerable fall this year after two high figures in 1956 and 1957. While higher than pre-war, the murder rate has not shown any particular trends of recent years, but a falling off is welcome, if for no other reason than to demonstrate that it bears little relation to changes in the law relating to capital punishment.

We are now coming to an interesting period in the post-war crime figures. The cohort born around the beginning of the war has persistently shown a high incidence of criminality, but it is now passing out of adolescence into the twenties when its effects will be less sharply felt. Will it be replaced by some other factor which will also contribute greatly to the figures and thus maintain them or can we expect some relief in the next few years? One thing is clear. It is high time that the criminal statistics in general were subjected to close examination to bring out trends more clearly, and to estimate the extent of their deficiencies. This should be one of the first tasks of the new Institute of Criminology, for until we know how to evaluate our basic statistics, we are not likely to produce theories about criminality which fit the true facts about the actual rate of crime in the community.

A. G. ROSE.

A PSYCHOPATHIC UNIT

Both the Royal Commission's proposals and the 1959 Mental Health Bill made provision for the treatment of the psychopath, and much discussion occurred in Parliament and in the press as to the safeguards for patient and public offered by compulsory treatment. Further discussion arose as to where such patients should be treated, although evidence to the Royal Commission made it quite clear that many such patients had been detained in mental deficiency hospitals under the provisions of the 1913 Act. Within the last few years lay magistrates have been increasingly reluctant to certify the psychopath under the 1913 Act, and the press has become increasingly critical of that part of the mental deficiency hospitals' function which is concerned with protecting the public against certified antisocial psychopaths. Despite these strictures, it is inherent in the definition of psychopathy that with some patients a degree of compulsion is often required. An attempt to meet this dilemma has been made at Balderton.

Balderton Hall was originally bought by Nottinghamshire County Council in 1931 for use as a mental deficiency institution. After delay, it was opened by the Sheffield Regional Board in 1957. By 1958 there were 194 beds of an extremely modern and well equipped hospital available, together with an unusually young and adaptable staff to deal with the deficiency needs of a county population of 850,000. These factors led to a treatment policy which was rapid by mental deficiency standards, amounting to a turnover of 7 per cent. of total beds per month, of patients 94 per cent. of whom were not certified under any Acts.

Based on the results of research,^{1 2} one geographically independent ward of thirty male beds was replanned as an intensive treatment unit for psychopaths, the term psychopath used here being defined in detail elsewhere.² Treatment practice fell under two headings: (a) work therapy, and (b) group psychotherapy. Work in the usual hospital departments was arranged on an incentive basis, the patient being paid at the end of each day's work on a *pro rata* basis for the work actually done. Work was measured by reference to a six-point scale, top marks representing the amount of work an ordinary outside workman would have done. Each point was paid twopence. Psychopaths are notoriously erratic workers, and by this means it was intended to drive home the effects of erratic work on the day's pay, and since the patient was enabled to spend his pay at the canteen on receiving it, the relation between work—money—goods was clear to the dullest patient.

Group psychotherapy was a second principle of treatment, drugs and physical treatments being eschewed. All members of the ward, staff and patients, met thrice weekly as a therapeutic community to solve their difficulties on a constructive basis. The psychiatrists chaired the meetings, with nurses and patients contributing. These meetings effectively controlled life on the ward, by electing patient leaders, receiving disciplinary reports by leaders where necessary, and passing rules. Such rules had to receive confirmation by a 'second chamber' composed of staff only, but if rejected there had to be good reasons or they would be re-

¹ Craft, M. J. 'Mental Disorder in the Defective', Royal Institution, Starcross, Devon, 1958.

² Craft, M. J. 'Psychopathic Personality, Diagnosis Aetiology, Prognosis Treatment,' 1959. In press.

debated. At these general meetings a good deal of psychotherapy occurred, concerned with authority, father figures and discipline, for most patients had upset homes and court sentences. Patients also received treatment in smaller groups, composed of sex deviants, adolescent dullards with emotional instability and older offenders with psychopathic syndromes. At least as important as depth psychotherapy was the general atmosphere on this unlocked, open ward for runaways and wayward youth. The group culture for these self-centred, emotionally callous dullards became quite intense, and any destruction of their 'home', excited episode, or suggested absconding was met by a spontaneous group to elucidate cause and decide action. Newly appointed staff from more disciplined hospitals were usually quite unsettled at the change in atmosphere, at unexpected requests for group discussion, and the necessity to have reasons for actions that were never previously questioned. New buildings and equipment, together with newly promoted staff of good personality, were important factors in the stimulating but exhausting treatment plan.

Depth psychotherapy is notoriously difficult with dullards, who are slow of thought, slow of memory, and cannot understand a psychotherapist who uses long words. It can be successful if patients are well motivated, given much time, and are well aware that what they say is not taken down and used in evidence against them at recertification. Within the Special Training Unit, separated by prestige and a distance of fifty yards from all other wards, there were no certified patients and a special type of motivation to aid therapy was used. This, again financial, consisted of a seven-point attitude scale biased against bullying and violence and in favour of a 'help thy neighbour' policy. A third scale rewarded smart dress. Of the hundred points available each week, a total of 90 per cent. allowed various privileges, including privilege rooms (lately strong rooms) and parole. The system has been criticized for its mercenary bias. It is certainly effective, in practice, in changing initial behaviour patterns which are often of long standing. Psychotherapy is relied upon for permanent change for the better.

Admission policy required that admissions should be between 14-24 years old, socially defective and intellectually or emotionally retarded. No certified admissions were accepted, although over half had been forwarded for certification. Both these and others were admitted on probation with a condition that they reside in hospital for twelve months. This relieved the psychiatrist from the position of certifying jailer, and enabled him to say that the court had sent the patient here, it was up to the patient to get to the bottom of the trouble or he might later be reconvicted. Since patients knew the dates of discharge, and agreed to enter for treatment, even under duress, most co-operated fully.

Experience has shown that the unit can treat some two-thirds of psychopaths forwarded to it. Some of the remainder can and are admitted to a ward run on orthodox lines similar to those employed in state hospitals. It is of interest that both forms of treatment work well side by side.

The unit has been well accepted by the courts in the locality. No mitigation of responsibility is advanced for these youthful delinquent dullards with psychopathic traits, merely an argument that they suffer from treatable psychopathic syndromes such as emotional instability, or schizoid affectionlessness, and that any period of segregation that the community demanded could be most constructively spent in the Unit.

It will be seen from the above arguments that the psychopathic provisions of the new Mental Health Act are not necessary for the majority of psychopaths who are forwarded for treatment in the north-east Midlands. Neither labels of psychopath or of defective are welcomed by patients, who are more prepared to enter a hospital with a Special Training Unit offering bonuses.

This experiment in group psychotherapy of psychopathic dullards can only be judged successful when the patients are followed up, and a present trial of matched controls is evaluated. There are, however, signs which can be noted now. In spite of the type of patients admitted there have been no abscondings. Those who on admission were erratic at work and in behaviour become steady within a matter of weeks when they find how clearly it pays to be so. There is a frankness, openness and enthusiasm which makes nursing both a pleasure and a challenge. Dullards, even high-grade imbeciles, become much more fluent of tongue with such a verbal approach.

This Special Training Unit owes much to the Social Rehabilitation Unit at Belmont which has been treating brighter psychopaths for so long. Apart from the higher intelligence and sophistication of Belmont clientele, there are other basic differences. The Balderton Unit is for dullards, has a basic approach of financial incentives, is concrete rather than abstract, and although rules are made by patients, it has a code of behaviour which imposes discipline. It is, in fact, an intensive treatment unit for psychopaths.

MICHAEL CRAFT.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF PRISONS FOR THE YEAR 1958

Cmnd. 825, August 1959

The most important fact contained in this report is that the rise in the prison population continues. At the end of 1956 it numbered just under 21,000; by April 1959 the number had almost reached 27,000, swollen by an increase in the number of women prisoners for the first time for some years. Clearly this rise has been most serious in the Borstal age group. Although these figures reflect an increase in the numbers before the courts they are also a reflection of sentencing policy. It remains to be seen how far recent legislation such as the Maintenance Orders Act and the First Offenders Act will reduce the load of short-term imprisonment. What is particularly disturbing is the fact that over the last four years *an average of 41 per cent. of prisoners received on remand or for trial were not subsequently committed to prison.* The fault here is not with the Bench alone; the need for Remand Centres is now absolutely imperative if the courts are to have adequate information at their disposal and the prison system is to get on with its primary task, the treatment of offenders.

The percentage of sentenced prisoners received for periods of less than six months has, it is true, fallen from the figure of 88.3 per cent. in 1938 to 67.8 per cent. in 1958, but even this figure means that the vast mass of prisoners are unlikely to benefit from the experience in a positive way. While the Report points out that even in overcrowded local prisons it would be wrong to assume that no constructive training goes on, the work situation is still acute and unskilled tasks of various

kinds constitute the staple industry. 'Penal Practice in a Changing Society' noted that '... in local prisons the situation has long been bad and is deteriorating.' There are some bright patches on the scene, however; at Preston some fifty men are employed on painting toys for an outside manufacturer.

The most interesting development in 1958 appears to have been experimentation in the field of group counselling. This technique, which has been developed with great skill in California, is perhaps the most hopeful thing which has happened in British prisons since the war. As an alternative to hours shut behind cell doors, or sewing mailbags, its positive value is self-evident. The employment of lay counsellors will, however, require careful selection and training, though there is no reason why such training for prison officers cannot be made available through existing social science faculties and institutions. Such developments seem the logical outcome of the Norwich system.

The section of the Report dealing with after-care is perhaps one of the most difficult upon which to comment. Bearing in mind the conclusions of the Young-husband Report published earlier this year, the content of Chapter V may leave some readers with a sense of uneasiness. Although eight of the ten Maxwell workers now employed by N.A.D.P.A.S. have taken social science courses at British Universities, there is no hint that the character of local D.P.A.s themselves has undergone a profound change. A statistical analysis on the lines of that provided by the Central After-Care Association would be of value. Particularly helpful would be a detailed analysis of the type of assistance rendered to prisoners by local D.P.A.s, the size of money payments, numbers of home visits made, etc.

On the physical side, the improvement of plant and the construction of new premises continues. Improved pay resulting from the Wynn Parry Report and improved recruiting has characterized the staff position in 1959.

(The *Prison Officers' Magazine* editorials over the last few months, however, do not seem to indicate that the P.O.A. loves the Prison Commission any the more!)

TERENCE MORRIS.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CENTRAL AFTER-CARE ASSOCIATION

(London: H.M.S.O., 1959, pp. 38. 2s.)

This report is in the usual form and contains remarkably little useful information. It would, for example, be a notable improvement if the tables showing reconvictions could show the chances of reconviction for each successive year after discharge. Similarly while it is stated that the Home Leave Scheme is being increasingly used, and is claimed to be highly beneficial, no evidence is quoted. Possibly this would be a good subject for a small research project. The Borstal section is marked by the vividness with which it is written, its acceptance of the challenge of prediction studies, and by a table which demonstrates the remarkable falling off in the reconviction rate with the passage of time after discharge.

J. P. MARTIN.

LEGAL PENALTIES

(*Legal Penalties. A Report by 'Justice'.* (London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1959, 18 pp. 3s. 6d. net.)

This Report by a Committee of 'Justice', reprinted from the June 1959 number of the *Criminal Law Review*, is another valuable publication of the British Section of the International Commission of Jurists. It is not concerned with questions of judicial sentencing policy, as discussed in Mr. Hall Williams's 'Critical Notice' in the last issue (October 1959, pp. 145-9), nor with the need for the introduction of new types of penalties or for the abolition of existing penalties. It rather asks whether some of the existing legal maxima are too low or too high; whether there should be any fixed or minimum penalties for certain crimes; and whether there should be any general rules as to points to be taken into account by the criminal courts by way of aggravation or mitigation. The answers given by the Committee are, first, that there seem to be in English law certain legal maxima which are too low, e.g., for indecent assault on females (two years imprisonment), simple drunkenness (10s. to 40s.), and it is suggested that some properly equipped body should look into this aspect of the matter with a view to preparing legislation. Secondly, there are many more crimes where the legal maximum seems too high and archaic. For housebreaking it is fourteen years imprisonment, but sentences longer than five years are hardly ever imposed (ignoring, of course, sentences of preventive detention). If the maximum for indecent assault on a female is two years and for indecent assault on males ten years, this makes the latter appear a crime much more serious than the former, which may no longer be in accord with present-day views. Particularly striking anomalies of this kind can be found in the Larceny Act, 1916. As the Report stresses, it is desirable that 'in a rational legal system the *relationship* between the maxima for different crimes should be a logical one', and it draws attention to the changes that have occurred in the social and moral climate within the past thirty years. The present reviewer can only express his agreement with all this, and also with the view that 'some codification of grounds for aggravation or mitigation, and of the degree to which these should affect the penalty, would be of assistance in co-ordinating the sentencing practice of different courts.' In the controversial question of minimum penalties the Report, rightly, holds that the introduction of minimum or fixed penalties would not be advantageous. In conclusion, it asks for the setting up of an official commission or committee to review not only the question of penalties but also the larger one of 'simplifying, strengthening and rationalizing the criminal law of this country'.

H. M.

REPORTS AND NEW JOURNALS

- (1) 'Ministère de la Justice. Direction de l'Administration Penitentiaire.' Exercice 1958. Rapport Général par Robert Lhez, Juin 1959, 182 pp.
- (2) 'City Magistrates' Courts.' The City of New York, 1958, 139 pp.
- (3) 'The Death Penalty.' By Thorsten Sellin. A Report for the Model Code Project of The American Law Institute, 1959, 84 pp.
- (4) 'The Howard League for Penal Reform.' Annual Report, 1st July, 1959 to 30th June, 1959.

- (5) 'Essex Probation Committee.' Annual Report of the Principal Probation Officer for 1958, 13 pp.
- (6) 'City of Portsmouth.' Report of the Juvenile Court Panel for the year 1958, 12 pp.
- (7) 'Jamaica.' Report of the Treatment of Offenders for the year ended 31st March, 1956. Published 1958, 22 pp.
- (8) 'Victoria.' Penal Department. Report of Director of Penal Services for the year 1957, 1958-59.

It is hoped to review some of these Reports in later issues.

- (9) *Nederlands tijdschrift voor Criminologie*. A bi-monthly journal. Editorial address, v.d. Brinkstraat 17, Monster Z.H.; administrative address, J. A. Boom & Zoon, Hoofdstraat 87, Meppel, Holland. The first number was published in February, 1959.
- (10) *The Indian Journal of Social Defence*. The official organ of the Uttar Pradesh Crime Prevention Society, Lucknow. The first number was published in April, 1959.

H. M.

REVIEWS

SURVEY METHODS IN SOCIAL INVESTIGATION. By C. A. Moser. (London: Heinemann. 1958. Pp. xiv + 352. 35s.)

The engineering profession may be thought of as a highly specialized and developed function standing half-way between the pure physical sciences and the general public. There is little doubt that much progress in physical science may be traced to origins in the engineering and technological areas. Technological developments make possible further scientific discovery, and further scientific discovery makes possible further technological advances. The engineer knows sufficient of the language of the pure scientist to be able to understand what he says and to translate into practical forms as necessary or commercially profitable; through this medium we buy the results of scientific development in the shops.

In the social sciences we have, as yet, no specialized 'middle man' serving a similar rôle to that of the engineer. But such a functionary is becoming necessary, and necessity is already beginning to break through the barriers to this development. A 'social engineering' function is being created. It is being created because certain methods of social research have found commercial applications which help the manufacturer or salesman to do bigger or better business.

This book deals with methods which have been developed in recent years and which owe much of their current status to the fact that their application to commercial and industrial problems is a paying proposition. Commerce and industry must now be spending on sample survey research work in this country at the rate of millions a year, and at a far greater rate in the United States. Before readers jump to the conclusion that commercialization of research is a bad thing, it must

be pointed out that the sample survey is a costly method and academic use of the procedure is limited by lack of funds.

The Division of Research Techniques at the London School of Economics, of which the author is a member, has found a very effective liaison between the theoretical and practical (commercial) side. The Department works closely with commercial organizations who expect to learn of new developments in methods in return for making available to the University from time to time certain of their staffs and other facilities. The rôle of the Government Social Survey in this field is also discussed in the book. The Social Survey was able to contribute some notable developments, possibly because the research needs which this department had to meet were somewhat different from those of others interested in sample surveying methods.

The sample survey method is a down-to-earth tool of social research which has been tested and proved in the hard business world where it is 'pay-off' which counts. (Perhaps it would not be a bad thing if more research methods were evaluated by a similar criterion?) Certainly the sample survey method is one which cannot be ignored by any person claiming to do research in the field of human behaviour. Not all social scientists who have in fact applied the sample survey method have been honest enough to call their methods by this name—they have chosen instead terms in impressive gobble-de-gook—perhaps to seem to avoid association with a commercialized technique. This practice does not help. All scientific methods may be well or badly used to good or evil ends, and equally as easily misapplied and misquoted.

This, then, is a down-to-earth book about a down-to-earth method of social research. The book is aimed at the non-mathematical reader. But since inferences from data are an essential feature of practical research, some arithmetic has to be dealt with. The limitation extends also to the use of any formal logical notation. This self-imposed restriction means that the author cannot always support the methods he advocates. Where the treatment of a topic has been, for this or any other reason, limited, the author usually makes this fact clear. This is a rare virtue. It is more difficult to indicate to readers what they do not know than to give a false impression of security.

The balance of the book is interesting. It may be considered as falling into three approximately equal parts. The first deals with sampling and the second with data collection. The remaining third covers a widely assorted set of topics—the history of surveys, definitions, pilot and planning stages, data processing and interpretation. This balance reflects the level of existing knowledge of the topics. Sampling methods are now refined to a degree which makes it unlikely that further improvements in efficiency or rigour will be large. It is the one area which can be dealt with objectively and theoretically. Considerable advances should be found possible in problems of interviewer bias, schedule design, question form, content analysis and coding; while the electronic computer makes available methods of analysis which were either too costly or impossible without it. Problems of inference and validity are seriously needing attention, and there are good signs of rapid developments in this area.

All chapters in the book have further references which it will be necessary for the conscientious student to follow up. Sample-surveying techniques cannot be thought of in isolation from other social research methods. What subjects are

left to the 'references' and what are dealt with adequately in the text of a book itself will always be a matter of opinion upon which reviewers and authors can disagree. Most of the limitations of this book are due to limitations believed to exist in the selected audience, and other matters are left with little discussion because the audience is believed to possess already the necessary knowledge. On the one hand, the chapter on analysis and interpretation is thin because it would have been difficult to do more, but the author is qualified to try when he goes into the second printing. On the other hand, the methods of exploration and description of social phenomena are regarded as properly outside the scope of the book. The author is concerned with sample surveying—a form of quantitative research. Even so, he might have given more attention to the stages which must precede the launching of a field study. Very often the major problem in any research is the stating of the problem in research terms, but the reader is not given much guidance in this area, perhaps because, as a social scientist, he is believed to be thoroughly familiar with this aspect of research already. It must always be remembered in reading this book that sample surveying is not a technique which can be adopted without reference to other knowledge and skills. At one extreme we might otherwise get the statistician who spends all his time doing sums instead of thinking, or the sociologist who spends all his time thinking and never doing any sums! Both lines of inquiry and work are necessary in social research. Until the social scientist becomes familiar with methods of inference and hypothesis testing, of experimental designing and probability, it will be impossible for him to make use of the systems of logical and mathematical manipulations which could be powerful tools in his work, and which are under continuous development. Similarly the statistician will not help if he merely devotes his attention only to those problems which are framed in a way that enables him to deal with them elegantly and in the manner so prized among mathematicians.

This book thus serves a very useful function in indicating to the non-mathematical social scientist what can be gained by the use of the statistician's contribution to sample survey methods. It should be read by all concerned with research in the behavioural sciences. It should help too in the important problem of communication between the different disciplines.

L. T. WILKINS.

THE CHILD AND THE COURT. By W. E. Cavenagh. (London: Gollancz. 1959. Pp. 239. 21s.)

Mrs. Cavenagh's own experience of local government and of the juvenile court, combined with her work as a teacher in a university department of social study, makes her eminently fitted to write about children and the court. It is a deceptively easy subject in some ways. Juvenile courts, for example, have seldom offered the same challenge to the lawyer as have the adult courts. But it is the great merit of this book that the real difficulties both of principle and procedure which have emerged in the development of the English system are critically and accurately discussed.

Her plan is to examine first the procedure of magistrates' courts in general and then to examine the procedure and powers of the juvenile court. The chapter on powers, however, makes difficult reading. It suffers, for example, from a serious

lack of sub-headings and her method of dealing historically with the various powers makes it sometimes difficult for anyone not familiar with the field to disentangle history and present practice. She follows then with chapters on the working of the court and the problems and methods of arriving at findings.

Perhaps the most outstanding chapter, however, is on the reactions of children to the court and the gap in attitude and thinking between child and magistrate. Here indeed is a fruitful subject for research: Mrs. Cavenagh's own observations are both sensitive and thought-provoking and are a challenge to conventional magisterial views.

I do not think that in her conclusions she poses sharply enough the fundamental conflict between treatment and punishment and its implications for juvenile court reform—a difficult subject which faces anyone concerned with the court and one on which the Ingleby Committee's views are keenly awaited. But the reader is left in no doubt as to the variety of ways in which magistrates interpret their obligation to have regard to the 'welfare' of the child.

This is an important book and deserves a wide public. It suffers, however, from the absence of a bibliography and an index.

JOHN SPENCER.

THE CHILD AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES. By D. V. Donnison and Mary Stewart. (London: The Fabian Society. 1958. Pp. 31. 3s.)

This pamphlet consists mainly of the evidence submitted by a small group of Fabians to the Ingleby Committee. Unfortunately, it is not clear how far, if at all, the preparation of the pamphlet involved re-writing the evidence. The group included magistrates, members of a County Children's Committee and research workers.

The recommendations cover three main topics—the need for a 'Family Service', the reform of the Juvenile Courts and residential care. Only a small part of the section on the Family Service is directly relevant to the problem of delinquency, in that it suggests including the investigation of irregular school attendance among the functions of the Family Service.

The proposals for reforming the Juvenile Courts are on fairly familiar lines—the raising of the age of criminal responsibility to 15 and of the age of juvenile court jurisdiction to 18, and, in particular, the creation of Case Committees to deal in private with uncontested cases involving children under 15. The proposal to raise the age of jurisdiction is accompanied by one giving the power to commit directly to Borstal.

Lastly, the pamphlet proposes that local authorities in urban areas should 'set up Reception and Observation Centres to undertake much of the work now done by Remand Homes and Classifying Schools, in addition to acting as Reception Centres for the Children's Authority'. Similarly, these authorities should set up Remand Centres for juveniles between 14 and 17, who are too unruly for Observation Centres, for those remanded for Borstal reports and for young people of 17–21 at present remanded to prison.

On the whole these proposals are unlikely to shock anyone with even moderately progressive views. Hardly any have not been advocated at least somewhere before. This being so, one may perhaps consider their possible value as evidence

for an official committee. The impression given is not very convincing and scarcely likely to convert the unconverted. This seems to be due both to a certain lack of precision in argument and style, and to a failure to appreciate the number of assumptions involved in the case they put forward. The former point may be illustrated by the sentence '*In fact*, the reverse of this argument is just as *likely* to be true' (my italics). It may be that the evidence took more care to prove the points which are here taken for granted, but one suspects that this was not so.

Perhaps the most surprising omission was of any reference to cost. It is not clear whether the original memorandum discussed the subject or not; if it did, why was this deleted from the pamphlet? If not, why not? Surely if a committee is to make responsible recommendations it should be given some idea of their likely cost.

However laudable the views expressed in this pamphlet, they do not seem to be argued with sufficient thoroughness or force to add to what has already been said by other writers.

J. P. MARTIN.

THE TRIAL OF PETER MANUEL, *The Man who Talked too much*. By John Gray Wilson. (London : Secker and Warburg. 1959. Pp. 239. 21s.)

It was an almost impossible task which the author set himself in writing a book about the case of Peter Manuel, for the facts concerned three separate occasions involving eight murders, as well as several charges of housebreaking and stealing, covering a period of two years, and there was an embarrassing wealth of contradictory evidence before the court at the trial. It would have required extraordinary gifts of condensation and lucid exposition to make the complicated story hang together in any readable form, and unfortunately Mr. Wilson, by choosing to follow rather too closely the artificial order of evidence on different days of the trial, has to a great extent precluded himself from demonstrating such gifts as he no doubt possesses for such an exposition. The narrative is a confusing one, but the story as it is gradually revealed is one of a horrible series of brutal murders committed for obscure reasons, part sexual, part for gain, and laid before the door of a young man of 31 who had a long record of serious crimes. In his defence Manuel was almost unique in introducing the counter-charge (or special defence, as it is known in Scots law) that in relation to two of the occasions another person or persons were responsible, viz. William Watt, in relation to the Watt murders, and Charles Tallis, with the assistance of Mrs. Mary Bowes, in relation to the Smart murders. Manuel also caused a sensation by dismissing his counsel from the case after the trial had already proceeded some distance, and conducting his own defence thereafter, in what can only be described as a remarkably good amateur effort. Nevertheless he was found guilty of the Watts and Smart murders, and of the murder of Isabelle Cooke, the jury being unanimous on these charges, and he was also convicted of the housebreaking charges, though in one instance by a majority verdict. In fairness it should be recorded that on the first murder charge, that of Ann Kneilands, the judge directed the jury that there was insufficient evidence to connect the accused with the killing, and he was acquitted. The appeal was based mainly

on the wrongful reception of evidence of two confessions made by Manuel in written statements in the presence of his parents. He alleged that they had been wrongfully obtained, but probably overstepped the mark in alleging a criminal conspiracy by the police and all the Crown witnesses. The appeal was dismissed and the law was allowed to take its course, with the result that Peter Manuel was executed in July 1958.

The case gives rise to three reflections, which the author considers in his final chapter. This chapter goes far to redeem what must otherwise be condemned as a rather confusing book about the case. The first concerns the efficiency of the police investigations. There has been some concern at the apparent dilatoriness of the police in clearing up the first of this series of brutal murders. Could the lives of the Watts and those of the Smarts and Isabelle Cooke, and of the Newcastle taxi-driver found shot on the moors on 8th December, 1957 (and later found to have been murdered by Manuel) have been saved by more prompt action by the police? The answer would appear to be suggested in part by Lord Cameron's ruling to the jury that there was insufficient evidence to convict Manuel on this charge. He came under suspicion but there was no proof. All the same, there are, as Manuel himself remarked, some surprising omissions in the evidence (no evidence about nail scrapings of the dead girl and blood tests on Manuel's clothing). We are not here concerned to go into the whys and wherefores of this matter.

A second point concerns the nature of the criminal underworld of Glasgow, which was revealed to some extent by the evidence of Manuel and his associates. It would be wrong to assume that it is a gangster world, with large numbers of highly organized desperadoes buying and selling guns and planning robberies all the time. The author very fairly observes that it is nothing so glamorous and spectacular. 'The Glasgow problem is rather that of a sizeable shifting and shiftless population, which does not consider any other way of life . . . ' than a life of crime and dishonesty.

The author at p. 228 appears to be unaware of the large amount of research which has already been carried out into the causes of crime, especially on the social side. However, his discussion of the third problem, that of psychopathy in relation to Manuel, is remarkable for its sympathetic insight. It poses squarely the basic problem, what can be done with such people? The boasting character of the man Manuel, who, like Heath and Neill Cream, talked too much about his exploits, fits in with his desire to hurt the feelings of others, and his calumny of his former associates in the underworld as well as of the senior police officers in charge of the investigations. Manuel also appears to have been a sexually motivated offender; he was 'possibly a sadist, and almost certainly a fetishist' (p. 233).

The author suggests that the problem presented by such persons is primarily a problem for the psychiatrist to resolve. The choice for the court appears to be 'a choice between two policies of seeming despair', indefinite detention or execution. Scots law does not allow the psychopath to claim he was acting under diminished responsibility. The English law, it is suggested by the author, may be less Draconian in its view, as it leaves the matter to the jury (Spriggs [1958]). One might add that the Court of Criminal Appeal is prepared to correct the jury's mistakes in cases like Matheson. But what of the Heaths and Haighs of

this world? It is still not clear that they can be, or should be, exempt from criminal responsibility. Unless the Mental Health Act and the psychiatrists can save them, the law must take its course.

Although Manuel had been examined by several eminent psychiatrists and neurologists on behalf of the Crown and the defence, no evidence was tendered as to his mental condition, and although Manuel himself did not raise the question of diminished responsibility, Lord Cameron in his charge to the jury did discuss it, and explained how he had given anxious consideration to the point, but had come to the conclusion that there was very little evidence, if any, to support such a finding. *Sic transit...*

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS.

RACE PREJUDICE AND EDUCATION. By Cyril Bibby. (London: Heinemann. 1959. Pp. v + 90. 7s. 6d.)

This little book was commissioned by UNESCO as part of its general campaign against racialism. Dr. Bibby has set out to write a guide for school teachers. The assumption (which we must accept with all its terrible implications) is that by and large the children in our schools are still being misled about the nature of racial distinctions by their textbooks in geography and history. (One gets the impression that their biology textbooks are not always too helpful either.)

The nature of his brief has led Dr. Bibby to pass in fewer than a hundred pages through the fields of history, physical anthropology, genetics, social anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Probably there will be specialists who object to this or that, but there cannot be many people who could have achieved what Dr. Bibby has done in so small a compass. Presumably, Dr. Bibby's reward will come when his book succeeds in encouraging in our schools more truthful and courageous treatment of the question of race.

MAURICE FREEDMAN.

THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF PSYCHOTHERAPY. By Rudolf Ekstein and Robert Wallerstein. (London: Imago Publishing Co., Ltd. 1959. 42s.)

Dr. Rudolf Ekstein was a staff member of the Menninger Foundation where his present collaborator, Dr. Wallerstein, originated. Between them they have produced a verbose treatise of some 317 pages on a subject of immense importance if the teaching and practice of psychotherapy is to take its proper place in the curriculum of the training of those who will specialize in psychiatry. One would agree that the best method of teaching the delicate art of helping to unravel the minds of those afflicted by either neuroses or psychoses is, first and perhaps most important, to undertake a personal analysis to enable the psychiatrist to approach the problem objectively and not project his own unsolved mental complexes on to his patients. Then, for a considerable time, the student psychiatrist should have his cases supervised by a really competent director with whom the student feels *en rapport*. With these methods of training Drs. Ekstein and Wallerstein cordially agree, but it is to be questioned if this long and expensive book will make more than a confirmation of what already is considered to be the best way to prepare to tackle what is perhaps the most difficult branch of medicine.

R. A. HOWDEN.

EGO PSYCHOLOGY AND THE PROBLEM OF ADAPTATION. By Heinz Hartmann. Translated by David Rapaport. (London: Imago Publishing Co. 1959. Pp. 121. 21s.)

The nature and development of ego-adaptation is a matter of prime importance to all delinquency workers and Dr. Hartmann is a safe guide to Freudian views on the subject. In the present collection of essays he adds several glosses of his own. The book presumes a good deal of orientation in psycho-analytical theory on the part of the reader and is therefore recommended mainly for 'advanced' study.

E. G.

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHILD. Vol. XIII. Edited by R. S. Eissler, *et al.* (New York: International Universities Press Inc. London: Imago Publishing Co. Ltd. 1959. Pp. 573. 50s.)

The first part of this volume is dedicated to a memorial to Ernst Kris, whose work on applied psycho-analysis, particularly in the field of aesthetics, is well known. The most important portion is the Symposium on Child Observation and Prediction of Development. Here Anna Freud, reconsidering Kris's view, accepts that prediction hitherto regarded as alien to psycho-analytic method has an important place. Of importance to delinquency studies is the section on adolescence which Anna Freud admits has not been fully served in analytic thought, as much is based on the retrospection of adult patients. Until this subject enjoys jointly the attention of the analyst and the sociologist, the rebellion and the near criminality of this age group will remain a danger area.

All the essays in this volume are not directly illuminating of delinquency problems, but the uniform high standard commands both respect and attention.

E. M.

THE ANNUAL SURVEY OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS. Vol. V. Edited John Frosch and Nathaniel Ross. (New York: International Universities Press, 1959. Pp. 607. \$12.)

This contains abstracts of about half a dozen papers on delinquency, of which two only are of interest. Giffin, Johnson and Littin suggest the use of a 'collaborative technique' in which the delinquent and one of his parents are simultaneously analysed, and, after due intercommunication between the therapists, information acquired concerning one patient may be communicated to the other—a hazardous procedure, it would seem, which has little relation to psycho-analysis but is an interesting experiment in rapport therapy. Michaels and Reiss contribute a résumé of the concept of 'control'. The sections on child development and the superego are, as always, of interest to delinquency workers; but the volume has the fatal defect of giving no indication of the quality of the contributions or of the scientific status of the contributors.

E. G.

THE NATURE OF STRESS DISORDER. A Conference Report. (London: Hutchinson Medical Publications, 1959. Pp. 298. 25s.)

The factor of mental and physical stress is of vital importance to the delinquency worker. Here, sponsored by the Society for Psychosomatic Research is a

symposium on the subject. The section on social stress is astonishingly empty of information, and on the whole the book is disappointing and sometimes a trifle pretentious. Nevertheless it is a convenient source book for those interested in the subject.

E. G.

LE CYCLE DE LA STRUCTURE. By Viktor von Weizaecker. (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958, Pp. 229.)

This ponderous work of a most distinguished German psychologist cannot be adequately reviewed in this *Journal*. It is situated in the area between psychology and philosophy and is an attempt to formulate a logic of the organism. It shows the influence of such existentialists as Scheler and Heidegger. Without the discipline readers will find this volume difficult to read. Walking through slag heaps of complex Teutonic terminology, the patient student may find some valuable ideas which the distinguished author has unfortunately left imbedded.

E. M.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Continued from Vol. X, p. 156)

(Inclusion in this list does not preclude a later review)

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- E. RAAB and G. J. SEIZNICK: 'Major Social Problems', New York, Row Peterson & Co., \$6.50.
- A. RACINE: 'La Délinquance Juvenile en Belgique de 1939 a 1957', C.E.D.J., Brussels.
- P. Q. ROCHE: 'The Criminal Mind', Farrar Straus and Cudahy, New York, \$5.
- E. SCHMIDHAUSER: 'Gesinnungsmerkmale in Strafrecht', Paul Siebeck, D.M. 29.00.
- P. SCHOLZ: 'Motive und Ursachen bei Körperverletzungen', Bonn, Ludwig Rohrscheid Verlag, D.M. 14.
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- A. WEAVER: 'They Steal for Love', Max Parrish, 12s. 6d.
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(Compiled by W. Litauer, with contributions from H. M.)

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- WOLF MIDDENDORFF: 'Die soziale Prognose', *Recht der Jugend*, **7**, 1 Augustheft 1959, 225-229, and 2 Augustheft 1959, 248-252.

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- C. P. TANDON: 'The Rôle of the Magistracy in the Treatment of Crime', *The Indian Journal of Social Defence*, April 1959, **1**, 1, 9-16.
- R. G. CROSSWHITE, M. A. BRESLIN: 'Bridging the Gap from Confinement to Freedom', *Federal Probation*, June 1959, **23**, 2, 46-52.
- KARL PETERS: 'Für und wider die Todesstrafe', *Caritas*, 1959, No. 7/8, 201-216.
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CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

DEAR SIRs,

Dr. Mannheim has drawn my attention to certain representations of his views which occurred in my Critical Notice of his *Yale Law Journal* article on 'Some Aspects of Judicial Sentencing Policy', published in the October issue of your *Journal*. I remarked that he was 'extremely unhappy' about the way the Court of Criminal Appeal through its decisions has altered the range of certain penalties provided by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, whereas he merely drew attention to the fact that this had occurred without making any comment. Also I described Dr. Mannheim as 'perhaps too readily' agreeing with Professor Orfield's comment that the problem of sentencing was not soluble by an appellate court, whereas he wrote that he 'reluctantly' agreed with Orfield.

I had intended to modify the text of my Critical Notice in the light of these comments, but unfortunately, owing to the difficulties created by the printers' strike, I was not afforded the opportunity of seeing the proofs. I should be very happy if you would allow me to make the necessary correction by printing this letter. I should add in mitigation that I was trying to achieve an economy of words and to indicate my own judgment on these problems at the same time as describing Dr. Mannheim's views. I regret that I should have ascribed the adverbs to Dr. Mannheim which really describe my own feelings on these matters.

Yours sincerely,

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS.

The Law Department,
London School of Economics.
3rd December, 1959.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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